

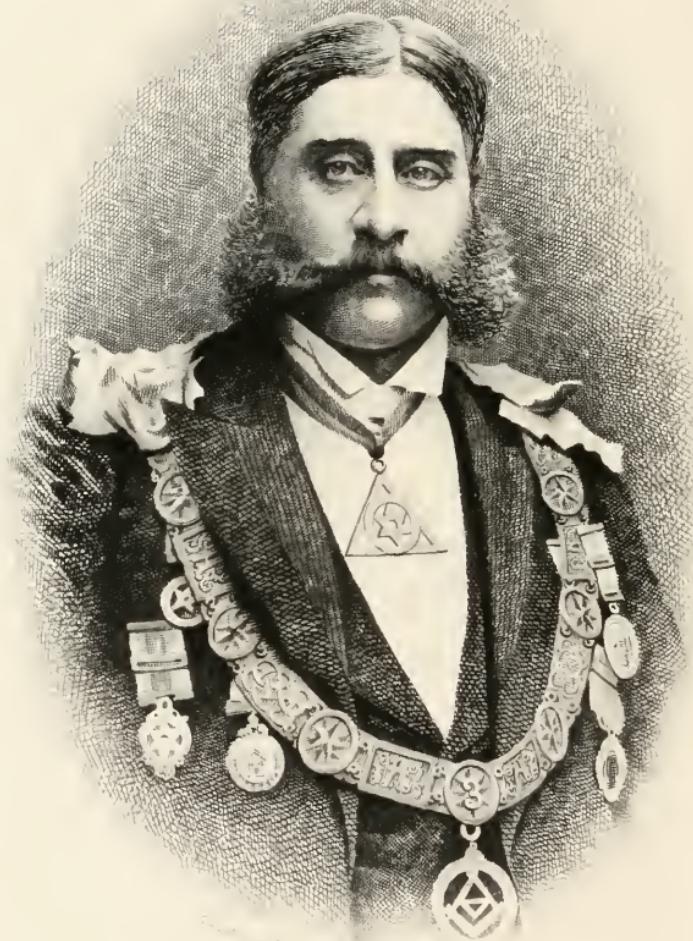
THE HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY.



Presented to the
LIBRARY of the
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
by
Mr. R. L. Bickford



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation



W. JONES LE PENDRE STARKIE
PROVINCIAL MASON OF LANCASHIRE, EAST

THE
HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY

Its Antiquities. Symbols. Constitutions. Customs. Etc.

*Embracing an Investigation of the Records of the Organisations of the
Fraternity in England, Scotland, Ireland, British Colonies,
France, Germany, and the United States.*

Derived from Official Sources.

By ROBERT FREKE GOULD, BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
PAST SENIOR GRAND DEACON OF ENGLAND;
Author of "The Four Old Lodges," "The Atholl Lodges," Etc.

VOLUME II.

LONDON:
THOMAS C. JACK, 45 LUDGATE HILL.
1883.

TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE PRINCE OF WALES
Grand Master
OF
THE UNITED GRAND LODGE
OF
Freemasons of England

THIS WORK
IS
BY GRACIOUS PERMISSION
MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.



HS
403
G67
1882
v. 2

C O N T E N T S.

CHAPTER	PAGE
VI. MEDIEVAL OPERATIVE MASONRY,	253
VII. THE STATUTES RELATING TO THE FREEMASONS,	328
VIII. EARLY BRITISH FREEMASONRY (SCOTLAND),	381
IX. MASON'S MARKS,	455
X. THE QUATUOR CORONATI (THE FOUR CROWNED OR FOUR HOLY MARTYRS),	467
XI. APOCRYPHAL MANUSCRIPTS,	487



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

COLONEL LE GENDRE STARKIE, Provincial Grand Master of Lancashire, Eastern Division,	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Right Honourable the MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON, Provincial Grand Master of Derbyshire,	297
Lieutenant-Colonel Sir HENRY EDWARDS, Baronet, Provincial Grand Master of Yorkshire, West Riding,	329
Sir WALTER W. BURRELL, Baronet, Provincial Grand Master of Sussex,	381
WILLIAM PEARCE, Esq., Provincial Grand Master of Glasgow,	409
Colonel Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, Baronet, Provincial Grand Master of Middlesex,	433
Colonel SHADWELL H. CLERKE, Grand Secretary of the United Grand Lodge of England,	449
Masons' Marks,	461

CHAPTER VI.

MEDIÆVAL OPERATIVE MASONRY.



EW subjects of equal extent and importance have been the cause of so much controversy as the rise, progress, and decline of the architecture of the Early and Middle Ages of Western Europe. Even the very name is deceptive, for the last of the Gothic kingdoms was destroyed in Spain some five centuries at least before what we call Gothic was introduced. In the early dissertations on this subject, as into many others of a corresponding period, was imported no slight amount of misplaced learning and ingenuity, accompanied by a reckless profusion of paradox and assertion. Besides the *Gothic* origin, which is after all a mere name, Gothic being taken in contradistinction to classical, and, passing over minor absurdities, we have that of Horace Walpole, who, in his letter to the Rev. W. Cole, considers it as having been derived from imitating the metal work of shrines and reliquaries; others, as Milner,¹ point with more plausibility to the round intersecting arches, of which numerous examples may be met with at St Cross, Winchester, and elsewhere. Whitaker, in his "History of the Cathedral of Cornwall"² (which county possessed neither a cathedral nor a history), refers it to the time of Trajan, while the still more fantastic Ledwich, in his "Antiquities of Ireland," assigns its origin to the Egyptians, and its introduction into England to the Normans; and Payne Knight, in his "Principles of Taste," supposes it to be the product of the classical architecture of Greece and Rome, corrupted by that of the Saracens and the Moors. Kerrich³ says that it is derived from a figure called the *Vesica Piscis* (an oval figure pointed at both ends) used on ecclesiastical seals, being herein slightly more absurd than Walpole; while Lascelles, in his

¹ Dr J. Milner, Ecclesiastical Architecture, pp. 78-83; Essays on Gethi Architecture, pp. 131-133.

² The Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall Historically Surveyed (1804), vol. i., p. 85. In the British Museum copy of this work appears the following note, in the handwriting of the well-known antiquary Francis Denee: "Descartes' remark on the writings of Lully may be well applied to all that Whitaker has written—'Copiese et sine jndicio de iis que nescimus garriendum.'"

³ Archaeologia, vol. xvi., p. 292; vol. xix., p. 353. "As the Greek word for a fish, *ἰχθύς*, contained the initials of *Ιησοῦς Χριστός Θεοῦ Τίλος Σωτῆρ*, even the inhabitants of the deep were made to represent Christ; and the rough outline of the fish, formed of two curves, meeting in a point at their extremities, was made to enclose, under the name of *Vesica Piscis*, the figure of our Saviour in His glorified state; or of the Madonna; or of the patron saint" (T. Hope, Essay on Architecture, 1835, p. 183). Mr King says: "It is astonishing how much of the Egyptian and the second-hand Indian symbolism passed over into the usages of following times. The erect oval, the most expressive symbol of passive nature, became the *Vesica Piscis*, and a frame for divine things" (The Gnostics and their Remains, pp. 72, 229).

“Heraldic Origin of Gothic” (1820), fairly surpasses all competitors by deriving pointed arches from the sections of the ark, and thereupon claims for it the very highest antiquity, as being Hebrew. Stukeley, in his “Itinerary,”¹ and also in the “Archæologia,” says that pointed architecture was originally brought from Arabia, where it was derived from the imitation of groves of trees (which groves doubtless flourished in Arabia Petræa); and Warburton, who was nothing if not paradoxical, borrowed this wonderful theory without acknowledgment, and improved it in his notes to “Pope’s Essays,” by saying that the Goths invented the style with the assistance of the Saracens—² who destroyed the last Gothic kingdom something like five hundred years before the rise of Gothic architecture! After this it is not surprising that some few writers should have dragged in the Druids, for there is no possible antiquarian confusion into which this terrible sect is not introduced, and have asserted that they invented Gothic in imitation of their groves of oak, though no one has ever yet ventured to assert, much as they pretend to know about them, that the Druids’ groves were planted in regular *allées*, like the grounds of a French chateau, or that the branches of oaks planted in that order would suggest the idea of a Gothic avenue. One or two writers, however, seem to have had an inkling of the truth. For instance, the learned and highly talented Gray,³ in a letter to Warton, denies that Gothic architecture came from the East; and the practical Essex,⁴ in his “Observations on Southwell Minster,” asserts that it arose from vaulting upon “bows,” and from sometimes covering irregular spaces with such vaults.

Certain theories, however, from the celebrity they have obtained and the greatness of the names by which they are supported, deserve a slightly more detailed examination. In the “Parentalia,” Sir Christopher Wren is made to say that Gothic architecture is derived from the Saracenic, or is the Saracenic in a Christianised form. Now, assuming that Wren really said what is imputed to him—a point upon which some remarks will be offered at a later stage—yet we must remember that no man, however great his attainments, and those of Wren were undoubtedly immense, is infallible, and that Wren was neither a profound antiquary nor a great traveller, hence he could only judge of Oriental buildings by the light of such rude drawings and perhaps still vaguer descriptions as might have chanced to fall in his way, and he must have been totally unable to correct the ideas so formed by any accurate comparison, which indeed would be nearly impossible at the present time; hence all he had to go by was the fact of there having been pointed arches existent in the East from an early period, and that, simultaneously with the West, having been thrown upon the East by the Crusades, the pointed superseded the round style in the former countries. The conclusion, though false, was certainly natural and justifiable. Next we have the theory of Governor Pownall,⁵ that

¹ Itinerarium Curiosum, vol. ii., p. 71; Archæologia, vol. i., p. 40.

² The Rev. J. Spence, in his “Anecdotes of Pope,” relates a conversation to prove that he suggested the original idea to Warburton (Anecdotes, etc., of Books and Men, 1820, p. 12).

³ Author of the “Elegy.” Although Gray published little besides his poems, he was a man of extensive acquirements in natural history and the study of ancient architecture.

⁴ James Essex, a Cambridge architect, author of “A Collection of Essays on Gothic Architecture;” and of a disquisition on Freemasonry, to be found in Addit. MSS., British Museum, 6760.

⁵ Archæologia, vol. ix., 1788, p. 110. Thomas Pownall, having been Governor of South Carolina and other American colonies, was always distinguished from a brother of his (John, also an antiquarian) by the title of Governor Pownall” (Stephen Jones, Biographical Dictionary, 1811, p. 380). By a recent American writer (Junius Identified, Boston, 1856) this worthy antiquary is stated to have been the “Great Unknown,” whose personality has hitherto baffled conjecture on this side of the Atlantic.

Gothic was derived from an imitation of timber construction, a theory which has been repeated without acknowledgment by some of the later writers of the "Histoire Littéraire de la France." Sir James Hall, in an essay in the "Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Edinburgh (1809),"¹ says that pointed architecture was a secret of the Freemasons, and began by an imitation of wicker work, being practised earlier in Scotland than in England. The last was an obvious corollary, for the Scots used wattle, like most other barbarians. I can only wonder that so fine a chance of bringing in the Druids was here let slip, for they are said to have made use, in their religious rites, of very large wicker images, which they filled with living victims and then set on fire.

Hope, in his famous essay, published after his death, attributes the rise of Gothic architecture to the practice of employing interlacing ribs, and filling in the interstices with stone or brick, a theory which comes tolerably near the truth.² The researches of later and better-informed writers, however, have made it clear that the Gothic was no imitation or importation, but an indigenous style, which arose gradually but almost simultaneously in various parts of Western Europe. In the words of the latest and ablest of these writers, the late Sir Gilbert Scott: "In the gradually increasing predominance of the vertical over the horizontal, the increase of the height of the pillars and jambs demanding a proportionate addition to the arch, the necessities of groined vaulting over oblong spaces, and a hundred other evidences, proved the pointed arch to be the inevitable result of the already attained developments and after it had almost unconsciously appeared in intersecting arcades." Again: "It is possible that France was the more rapid in making use of these developments, and it is certain that Germany was the most tardy."³

To this I may add, here also following Sir G. Scott, that it is essentially the architecture of the Germanic races. The cradle, as far as can be ascertained, was the north-east corner of France, the centre of the Frankish empire. These Franks were the greatest of the purely Teutonic races, and they founded an empire which for a time was no unworthy successor of that of Rome herself. It spread over the whole of north France to the Loire, the country of the Langue d'Oïl, and the Pays Coutumier, as distinguished from the Pays Latin, the country of the Langue d'Oc, the feudal and Teutonic, as contrasted with the Latin portion of the country. From thence it overspread and became indigenous in England, Scotland, and Germany; but made its appearance in Italy as a foreign importation,⁴ generally the work of German architects, as at Milan, and is usually spoken of by native writers as a German production, while it scarcely spread even then beyond the portion of the country which was in the earlier stages of its development under German influence, the three hundred and twenty examples enumerated by Willis⁵ being almost exclusively found there. In Spain also, where a strong Teutonic element must have existed in the Visigothic remnant, it seems to have been in great measure the work of German or French architects. The Slavs never built, and no buildings worthy of the name will be found east of a line drawn from the Elbe to the head of the Adriatic, which marks the line between the two races, and the lofty and magnificent steeple of

¹ Published as a separate work in 1813.

² Hope, *Historical Essay on Architecture*, 1835, p. 338.

³ Scott, *Lectures on Medieval Architecture*, 1879.

⁴ "In Italy, pointed architecture and scholasticism were 'exotics,' never thoroughly acclimated" (J. Stoughton, *Ages of Christendom before the Reformation*, 1855, p. 225. See Dean Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, 1854-55, vol. vi., p. 557).

⁵ R. Willis, *Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages, especially of Italy*, 1835.

St Stephen's, Vienna, might suggest to fanciful minds the image of a watch-tower overlooking the waste beyond. What Gothic buildings exist in Pomerania were erected by the Teutonic settlers and conquerors, while Scandinavia, though inhabited by a kindred race, was probably too poor and remote to participate in the general movement. Gothic is not only the last link in the chain of genuine and original style, the architecture of the modern as distinguished from the ancient world, but it was also the product of a peculiar romantic temperament developed at that particular period, which was totally unlike anything that has been seen either before or since, even among the same nations, and which showed itself, not only in architecture but literature, and even in politics, notably in the great movement of the Crusades.

Having thus discussed the origin of Gothic architecture, I pass on to those who practised it. A prevalent theory was, that all Gothic churches were erected by a body of travelling Freemasons acting in concert, and being apparently a kind of lay brethren, guided entirely by the "monks"—a very convenient term indeed for Protestant writers—and always working as one man, were assumedly under the control of one supreme chief, as the Franciscans and Jesuits of later times by a "general." Coupled with this is ordinarily found a belief that the Gothic architecture practised by these monks and masons was, in its origin, an emanation from Byzantium,¹ thus forming a link by which to connect the Masonic bodies and their architecture with the East, and so on up to the Temple, and further still, if necessary, *ad infinitum*. Another and more scientific, though equally baseless hypothesis, places the origin of Gothic architecture in Germany, and makes the Germans its apostles, sometimes, indeed, going so far as to deny the natives of other countries even the poor merit of imitation—their churches being supposed to have been built for them by Germans,—² while a third scheme contents itself with simply ridiculing *in toto* the pretensions of the Freemasons.³ At this stage, however, it becomes essential to examine more closely the passage quoted from the "Parentalia," and to duly consider the elaborate arguments by which Governor Pownall, Sir James Hall, and Mr Hope have supported their respective contentions, in order that we may form a correct estimate of the influence these have exercised in shaping or fashioning the theory of Masonic origin, believed in by encyclopaedists between 1750 and 1861.

It is true that Hawkins's "History of Gothic Architecture," 1813, is honourably distinguished from all similar works published after the disclosure of Sir J. Hall's hypothesis, 1803, by the absence of the word *Freemasons* from both index and letterpress;⁴ but, with this solitary exception, all writers (after Hall) who selected architecture as their theme have associated the Freemasons with the Gothic, or pointed style—a theory which reached its fullest development in the well-known essay of Mr Hope.⁵

Wren—if we accord him the credit of the outline of Masonic history given in the "Parentalia"—blended conjecture with tradition. Hall, as we shall see, found in the statement *ascribed* to Sir Christopher, the principle of authority, and looked no further. The greatest architect of his age, and the "Grand Master of the Freemasons," could not possibly

¹ Cf. Hope, Historical Essay on Architecture, chap. xxi. ; Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 33, and *ante*, p. 45.

² Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 76.

³ See Street, Gothic Architecture in Spain, 1865, p. 464; Gwilt, Encyclopædia of Architecture (Wyatt Papworth, 1876), pp. 128, 130; and Dallaway, Discourses upon Architecture, 1833, pp. 405-407.

⁴ J. S. Hawkins, History of the Origin and Establishment of Gothic Architecture, 1813.

⁵ Published, I believe, originally in 1831, but the only edition I have been able to consult is the 2d, 1835.

err in coupling the profession he adorned with the society over which he ruled.¹ Dallaway in 1833 published his "Discourses upon Architecture," the last of which he entitled "Collections for an Historical Account of Master and Freemasons," and from this fount Masonic writers have largely drawn.² Mr Hope's essay has been alluded to in a previous chapter.³ This writer quotes no authorities; and though, at the present day, many people might think that the verdict formerly passed upon his "Anastasius" (1819) would now apply to his *history* of the Freemasons—viz., "a romance which holds a distinguished rank among modern works of fiction"—it was at one time so much in request, as a professional text book, that an analytical Index⁴ to its contents, consisting of eighty-nine pages and with twelve illustrations in wood, had a very extended sale.

According to the editors of the "Parentalia,"⁵ "he [Wren] was of opinion (as has been mentioned in another Place) that what we now vulgarly call *Gothick* ought properly and truly to be named the *Saracenic Architecture refined by the Christians*, which first of all began in the East, after the Fall of the *Greek Empire*, by the prodigious Success of those People that adhered to Mahomet's Doctrine, who, out of Zeal to their Religion, built Mosques, Caravansaras, and Sepulchres wherever they came.

"These they contrived of a round Form, because they would not imitate the Christian Figure of a Cross, nor the old *Greek* Manner, which they thought to be idolatrous, and for that Reason all Sculpture became offensive to them.

"They then fell into a new Mode of their own Invention, tho' it might have been expected with better Sense, considering the *Arabians* wanted not Geometricals in that Age, nor the *Moors*, who translated many of the most useful old *Greek* Books. As they propagated their Religion with great Diligence, so they built Mosques in all their conquered Cities in Haste. The Quarries of great Marble, by which the vanquished Nations of *Syria*, *Egypt*, and all the East had been supplied, for Columns, Architraves, and great Stones, were now deserted; the *Saracens*, therefore, were necessitated to accommodate their Architecture to such Materials, whether Marble or Free-stone, as every Country readily afforded. They thought Columns and heavy Cornices impertinent and might be omitted; and affecting the round Form for Mosques, they elevated Cupolas, in some Instances with Grace enough. The Holy War gave the Christians, who had been there, an Idea of the Saracen Works, which were afterwards by them imitated in the West; and they refined upon it every Day as they proceeded in building

¹ Wren was never "Grand Master," nor has it been proved that he was a Freemason at all. In a later chapter I shall attempt to show that the extract from the "Parentalia," which follows in the text, was penned by the real editor, Joseph Ames.

² Dallaway cites approvingly "that the incorporation of masons, in the thirteenth century, may have finally brought the pointed arch to that consistency and perfection to which it had not then attained" (R. Smirke, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii.). The denomination of Free-masons in England, he deemed to be merely a vernacular corruption of the *Frères-Maçons* established in France" (Discourses, etc., pp. 407, 434).

³ *Ante*, p. 45.

⁴ By Edward Cresy, F.S.A., 1836. Dean Milman remarks: "All the documentary evidence adduced by Mr Hope amounts to a Papal privilege to certain builders or masons, or a guild of builders, at Como, published by Muratori, and a charter to certain painters by our Henry VI. Schmäse (Geschichte der Bildende Kunst, iv., c. 5) examines and rejects the theory" (History of Latin Christianity, vol. vi., p. 587).

⁵ Parentalia, or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens; but chiefly of Sir Christopher Wren. Compiled by his son Christopher. Now published by his grandson, Stephen Wren, Esq., with the care of Joseph Ames, F.R.S. London, MDCL, p. 306.

Churches. The *Italians* (among which were yet some *Greek* Refugees), and with them *French*, *German*, and *Flemings*, joined into a Fraternity of Architects, procuring Papal Bulls¹ for their Encouragement and particular Privileges; they stiled themselves Freemasons, and ranged from one Nation to another, as they found Churches to be built (for very many in those Ages were everywhere in Building, through Piety or Emulation). Their Government was regular, and where they fixed near the Building in Hand, they made a Camp of Huts. A Surveyor govern'd in chief; every tenth Man was called a Warden, and overlooked each nine.² The Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, either out of Charity or Commutation of Pennance, gave the Materials and Carriage. Those who have seen the exact Accounts in Records of the Charge of the Fabricks of some of our Cathedrals near four hundred Years old, cannot but have a great Esteem for their Economy, and admire how soon they erected such lofty Structures."

Governor Pownall³ believed that "the collegium or corporation of Freemasons were the first formers of Gothic Architecture into a regular and scientific order, by applying the models and proportions of timber frame-work to building in stone;" and was further of opinion that this method "came into use and application about the close of the twelfth or commencement of the thirteenth century." "The times," he continues, "of building the Gothic *new-works* coincide with this era. A fact which coincides with this period offers itself to me—that, the churches throughout all the northern parts of Europe being in a ruinous state, the Pope created several corporations of Roman or Italian architects and artists, with corporate powers and exclusive privileges, particularly with a power of setting by themselves the prices of their own work and labour, independent of the municipal laws of the country wherein they worked, according as Hiram had done by the corporations of architects and mechanicks which he sent to Solomon.⁴ *The Pope not only thus formed them into such a corporation, but is said to have sent them (as exclusively appropriated) to repair and rebuild these churches and other religious edifices.*⁵ This body had a power of taking apprentices, and of admitting or accepting into their corporation approved masons. The common and usual appellation of this corporation in England was that of *The Free and Accepted Masons.*" Governor Pownall then goes on to say that, "claiming to hold primarily and exclusively of the Pope, they assumed a right, as *Free-masons*, of being exempt from the regulations of the statutes of labourers, to which they constantly refused obedience. One might collect historical proofs of this, but as the fact stands upon record in our statute laws, I shall rest on that."⁶ Our author next fixes the establishment of the Freemasons in England about the early part of the reign of Henry III., at which period "the *Gothic* architecture came forward into practice as a regular established order;" and suggests as irresistible—the inference that the invention

¹ The statement that Papal bulls were granted to the early Freemasons is one of the most puzzling that we meet with in the study of Masonic history. The subject will be duly examined at a later period, in connection with the *dicta* of Sir William Dugdale and John Aubrey. See Halliwell, Early History of Freemasonry in England, 1844, p. 46; *ante*, p. 176.

² Cf., Encyclopedia Britannica, 8th and 9th editions (Freemasonry); Hope, Historical Essay on Architecture, p. 237; and *ante*, p. 3.

³ Observations on the Origin and Progress of Gothic Architecture, and on the Corporation of Freemasons; supposed to be the establishers of it as a regular Order (Archæologia, 1758, vol. ix., pp. 110-126).

⁴ 1 Kings v., 6.

⁵ Throughout this excerpt from the *Archæologia*, the *italics* are those of Governor Pownall.

⁶ The Statute 3 Henry VI., c. i., is here referred to, which will be examined fully in the next chapter.

and introduction of this bold and very highly scientific order of architecture must be referred to these chosen and selected artists.¹

"Having shown," concludes Pownall, "from incontrovertible record that there was in England a corporation of architects and masons, instituted by a foreign power, and that this foreign jurisdiction, from which they derived and under which they claimed, was the Pope, who created them by bull, diploma, or charter, about the close of the twelfth or commencement of the thirteenth century, I was very solicitous to have inquiry and search made amongst the archives at Rome, whether it was not possible to find the record of this curious transaction and institution. The librarian of the Vatican was, in 1773, on my behalf, applied to. He examined the archives deposited there, and after a long search, said, 'he could not find the least traces of any such record.' The head keeper of the archives was next applied to, and his answer was the same. The Pope himself, in consequence of a conversation which the inquiries in my letter led to, interested himself in the inquiry, and with the utmost politeness ordered the most minute research to be made; but no discovery arose from it. I cannot, however, yet be persuaded but that some record or copy of the diploma must be somewhere buried at Rome, amidst some forgotten and unknown bundles or rolls."²

Of Gothic architecture Sir James Hall says: "During the three centuries in which it prevailed exclusively over the greater part of Europe, its principles remained fixed and unchanged, in passing through a multitude of hands, eager to outdo their predecessors and their rivals by the novelty as well as by the elegance of their compositions. Such a conformity cannot be accounted for but by supposing that the artists were guided in their work by some principle known to them all, and handed down from one generation to another. But that no such principle has reached our knowledge, is proved by the various unsuccessful attempts which have been made of late to explain the forms of Gothic architecture, and to reconcile them to each other. We must, therefore, conclude that if there had been any such principle, it was known to the artists only, and concealed by them from the rest of the world. In order to determine this point, it is necessary to inquire by whom the art was practised. In that view, I shall refer, in the first place, to Sir Christopher Wren, an authority of great weight."

This writer then transfers to his pages the extract already given from the "Parentalia,"³ adding, after the words "he [Wren] was of opinion," "says his son, Mr Wren," and continues:—"The architecture here pointed out, as practised by the Freemasons in contradistinction to the Romans, being decidedly what we call Gothic, it is quite obvious that Sir Christopher Wren considered Gothic architecture as belonging to the Freemasons exclusively. Sir Christopher, who was surveyor-general of the works of architecture carried on in the kingdom, and, at the same time, a man of learning and curiosity, was led to examine the old records, to which he had free access. Being likewise, for many years, the leading man among the

¹ Without going so far as to agree with Governor Pownall that the Freemasons invented Gothic, it may be reasonably contended that without them it could not have been brought to perfection, and without Gothic they would not have stood in the peculiar and prominent position that they did; that there was mutual indebtedness, and while without Freemasons there would have been no Gothic, but a different, and I think an inferior, kind of architecture—without Gothic the Freemasons would have formed but a very ordinary community of trades unionists.

² Mr Tytler says: "I have in vain looked for the original authority upon which Sir Christopher Wren and Governor Pownall have founded their description of the travelling corporations of Roman architects" (History of Scotland, 1843, vol. ii., p. 278.

³ P. 306. He also cites p. 356 of the same work.

Freemasons, and their *Grand Master*, we may consider his testimony in this question as the strongest that the subject will admit of.”¹

Reviewing the condition of architecture towards the end of the 10th century, Mr Hope says:—

“It may be supposed that, among the arts exercised and improved in Lombardy, that of building held a pre-eminent rank; and, in fact, we find in Muratori, that already, under the Lombard kings, the inhabitants of Como were so superior as masons and bricklayers, that the appellation of *Magistri Comacini*, or Masters from Como, became generic to all those of the profession. We cannot, then, wonder that, at a period when artificers and artists of every class formed themselves into exclusive corporations, architects should, above all others, have associated themselves into similar bodies, which, in conformity to the general style of such corporations, assumed that of free and accepted masons, and was composed of those members who, after a regular passage through the different fixed stages of apprenticeship, were received as masters, and entitled to exercise the profession on their own account.”

In the view of the same writer, “Lombardy itself soon became nearly saturated with the requisite edifices,” and unable to give the Freemasons “a longer continuance of sufficient custom, or to render the further maintenance of their exclusive privileges of great benefit to them at home.”

The Italian corporations of builders, therefore, began to look abroad for that employment which they no longer found at home; and a certain number united, and formed themselves into a single greater association or fraternity—seeking a monopoly, as it were, over the whole face of Christendom.

“They were fraught with Papal bulls, or diplomas, granting to them the right of holding directly and solely under the Pope alone; they acquired the power, not only themselves to fix the price of their labour, but to regulate whatever else might appertain to their own internal government, exclusively in their own general chapters; prohibiting all native artists not admitted into their society from entering with it into any sort of competition.”

That an art so peculiarly connected with every branch of religion and hierarchy as that of church architecture, should become, in every country, a favourite occupation with its ecclesiastics, need not, Mr Hope thinks, excite our surprise.

Lest, however, such as belonged not to their communities should benefit surreptitiously by the arrangements for its advantage, the Freemasons “framed signs of mutual recognition, as carefully concealed from the knowledge of the uninitiated as the mysteries of their art themselves.”

“Wherever they came, they appeared headed by a chief surveyor, who governed the whole troop, and named one man out of every ten, under the name of warden, to overlook the nine others.”²

“The architects of all the sacred edifices of the Latin Church, wherever such arose—north, south, east, or west—thus derived their science from the same central school; obeyed in their

¹ Hall, *Essay on Gothic Architecture*, 1813, pp. 2, 112. It is fairly inferential that in the view thus expressed Sir James Hall was largely influenced by a belief in the *actual* testimony of a Grand Master of the Freemasons. See *antc*, p. 257, note 1.

² This statement is evidently copied from the “*Parentalia*”; and a careful collation of Mr Hope’s work with the three previously cited, will prove, I think, that his remarks on the Freemasons are mainly, if not entirely, borrowed without the slightest acknowledgment from the “*Memoirs of the Wrens*” and the *Essays of Governor Pownall* and Sir James Hall.

designs the dictates of the same hierarchy, and rendered every minute improvement the property of the whole body."

"The downfall of the Freemasons," says Mr Hope—"of that body composed of so many lesser societies dispersed and united all over Europe, which, throughout all Europe, was alone initiated in all the secrets of the pressure and the counter-pressure of the most complicated arches, so essential to the achievement of constructions after the pointed fashion, and so intricate, that even a Wren confessed his inability to understand all their mysteries;—the passage of the whole art of building, from the hands of these able masters, into those of mere tyros, not bred in the schools of Freemasonry, and not qualified to hazard its bold designs, forced architecture immediately backwards from that highly complex and scientific system, into one more simple in its principles and more easy in its execution."¹

It will excite no surprise that a treatise so highly esteemed by those who studied architecture as a profession, and elevated, for the time being, by the general voice, into the character of a standard work, should have impressed with even greater force the somewhat careless writers by whom Masonic history has been compiled. Traces, however, of Mr Hope's influence upon succeeding writers are to be found in many works of high reputation, and these, as would naturally happen, still further disseminated and popularised the views of which an outline has been given, until, in the result, a natural reaction took place, and what Sir Gilbert Scott calls the "fables of the Freemasons" have so far extended their sway, that, as long since pointed out, the historians of the craft, by supporting what is false, have prevented thinking men from believing what is true.

Even the judicious Hallam has been carried along with the current, and remarks: "Some have ascribed the principal ecclesiastical structures to the fraternity of Freemasons, depositaries of a concealed and traditional science. There is probably some ground for this opinion; and the earlier archives of that mysterious association, if they existed, might illustrate the progress of Gothic architecture, and perhaps reveal its origin."²

In the following pages it will be my endeavour to show, as clearly and succinctly as I can, that inasmuch as Western Europe has always, as has been well said, formed a kind of federal republic of states, so there has always been throughout a certain similarity between the fashions and institutions of the different nations, to which architecture has proved no exception—that at one time a great new fashion arose in architecture, as in the whole character of the nations, but that each nation in all time pursued its own individuality, untrammelled by that of its neighbours; and that hence, as no spontaneous movement was possible, so the overspreading of Europe by one Germanic fashion is equally mythical. Both these propositions can easily be proved by an appeal to the buildings themselves—a far safer method of procedure than that of trusting to printed statements, the authority of which is not always exactly apparent. But inasmuch as the differences between these structures can only be

¹ Hope, *Historical Essay on Architecture*, 1835, pp. 228-233, 527.

² Hallam, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. 1853, vol. iii., p. 358. Originally published 1832, the year after Mr Hope's death. Cf. F. A. Paley, *Manual of Gothic Architecture*, 1846, p. 211; and G. A. Poole, *History of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, 1848, pp. 116, 119. Rosengarten says: "The fraternities or guilds of masons, from whom the Freemasons derive their origin, may have contributed greatly to the completion of the pointed arch. These fraternities were probably formed as early as the period of transition between the Romanesque and Pointed styles, in order to afford a counterpoise to the organisations of the priesthood" (*A Handbook of Architectural Styles*, trans. by W. Collett-Sanders, 1878, p. 289).

really ascertained by actual examination, or by the careful inspection of an almost endless series of good drawings—a study which even then would require a trained eye—I must ask my readers for at least as much good faith as to believe that I am acting in good faith towards them. The third point—namely, what share the operative masons had in the construction of these buildings—will be reserved for the latter part of the chapter, wherein, though quoting somewhat more from books, I shall still rely mainly on the structures themselves. The first theory—that of an universal brotherhood—is contradicted by the absolute silence of all history, no less than by the very strong negative evidence on the other side, and that on evidence afforded not merely by history, but by the appearance of the actual edifices; the idea of an ancient universal brotherhood linked with the past in a manner to which I need not further refer, supposes, amongst other things, that the Catholic Church in all her branches, at the very time that she was combatting, both within and without, the Gnosticism and Manicheism of the East transplanted into the West, called in those very powers to her assistance, and that these same Gnostics and Manicheans, at a period of deadly hostility and persecution, should have devoted themselves—as they have not done since—to the erection of temples of the Catholic faith.¹ Moreover, no great art was ever practised by roving bodies moving from country to country; still less could it have been so, when, as in the Middle Ages, the means of locomotion were so few, and especially was it impossible to transfer large bodies of skilled labourers from one country to the other; *e.g.* the Norman churches in England were never vaulted (there is only one instance—the little chapel of St John in the White Tower or Keep of the Tower of London), though many coeval vaultings remain in Normandy, while masonry is, more frequently than not, bad. This obviously arises from the clumsiness of the Saxon workmen whom the Norman builders were forced to employ.

Sir Francis Palgrave says:² “Those who have hitherto attributed Gothic architecture to the Freemasons, have considered the style as ‘the offsprings of a congregated body;’ and, deeming the members of the fraternity to have acted in concert, have attempted to show them working and calculating as a fraternity, for the purpose of arriving at the definite results which they afterwards so gloriously attained—an hypothesis which will become perfectly credible when any scientific society shall have discovered a system of gravitation, any literary academy shall have composed a ‘Paradise Lost,’ or any academy of the fine arts shall have painted a ‘Transfiguration.’ But we believe that the fraternity of Freemasons just performed the very useful and important duties properly belonging to the society or the academy. They assisted in the spread of knowledge, and in bestowing upon talent the countenance and protection of station and established power.”

An art will originate, more or less, in one country, and thence spread to others, in which case the possessors of it in the parent state will design the first works in other lands, until superseded by the natives, but they will very rarely be able to employ handicraftsmen from their own country; and this is precisely what has taken place in engineering in our own

¹ Mrs H. Beecher Stowe, in her “Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands,” 1854, p. 239, observes of Lord Macaulay: “He said that all the cathedrals of Europe were undoubtedly the result of one or two minds; that they rose into existence very nearly contemporaneously, and were built by travelling companies of masons, under the direction of some systematic organisation.” A year later, Macaulay writes: “A mighty foolish impudent book this of Mrs Stowe. She put into my mouth a great deal of stuff that I never uttered, particularly about cathedrals” (G. O. Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 1878, vol. ii., p. 367).

² *Edinburgh Review*, April 1839, pp. 102, 103.

times. "English William," who succeeded at Cauterbury to his master, William of Sens, more than a hundred years after the Conquest, is supposed to have been the first English architect; and this is consonant with the above analogy, but it does not follow that English architects may not have existed before. The Norman buildings in England offer marked characteristics in opposition to those on the Continent; and if William de Carlepho brought his design for Durham from thence, all that I can say is, that it is different in character from anything now to be seen there. It must also be very clear that the Saracenic effect was but small. It was scarcely likely that the Crusaders would have carried back a style of building little in accordance with their own darker and more gloomy climate, and that a style cultivated by their enemies. Next, though, owing to the difficulty of deciding the exact date of the majority of the earlier Oriental buildings, we cannot tell whether, as far as mere dates are concerned, the Crusaders copied from the Saracens or the Saracens from the Crusaders, yet we can be quite sure that the styles are totally different. I am not here considering the mere form of the arch alone; that may be seen in Egypt, Assyria, India, Mycenæ, in countless places, and *inter alia* in the Lycian tombs in the British Museum. I am speaking of the entire aspect and construction of the buildings, especially of the vaultings. Even in Spain, to judge by engravings, the churches are peculiarly massive, and the light arabesque appears only—when it does appear—in detail. But Sir G. Scott is probably right when he says that the last hints, as it were, came from the East. Therefore, when we hear the Saracenic origin of Gothic mentioned, we must bear in mind, as we should always do, that a substratum of truth almost universally underlies even the apparently grossest popular errors; and that when a theory begins by contemptuously rejecting all preconceived notions, we may take it as an evidence that that theory is in itself erroneous.

Hence it is reasonable to assume that architecture arose and spread gradually with civilisation itself; that, to repeat somewhat, as all the nations of Western Europe bore a considerable resemblance to one another in origin, and that they formed then as always a fraternity or republic of nations, so we should find a somewhat similar style or styles of architecture prevailing at the same time, but greatly modified, not only in the different countries but in the different localities, and these by no means extensive or distantly removed from one another, and that hence no general consensus was probable, or even possible, *i.e.*, there was not, and could not have been, any general movement emanating from a common fountain head, and carried out with undeviating regularity by an organised body of men and their subordinates. It may also be assumed that mediaeval architecture, like most other things, was mainly dependent on the law of supply and demand, and that not only the buildings, but the style in which they were erected, were the result of circumstances, and were modified accordingly. It will be safe to assume, also, that the declamation about the zeal and fervent piety of the Middle Ages is the merest romance, and that all the glamour and the halo of the past, that, seen through a mist of fine writing, has been evolved, may safely be relegated to the class of popular myths having, like all similar things, some foundation in truth. Our mediaeval ancestors were indeed an intensely practical, vigorous, and hard-working race, tinged, however, with the very peculiar shade of romance above alluded to; and when the barbarian invasions finally ceased with the curbing of the Huns and Normans, somewhere about the year 1000 A.D. (for the oft-quoted notion of the end of the world could have had but very little practical influence), it must be obvious that a very large number of churches

and other buildings must have been required, not only to supply the place of those that had been either destroyed or had fallen into decay, but to furnish edifices for a settled and increasing population. The tendency of the civilisation of that age to advance by the foundation of monasteries, as we do by schools and institutes, must have still further assisted the ecclesiastical development of architecture—as distinguished from the development of ecclesiastical architecture, and have increased the connection of the ecclesiastical orders (not necessarily monks) with the builders—hence the popular notion. These buildings all commenced at about the same period, and had certain general characteristics running through the whole, yet were distinguished by strongly-marked local features. Almost imperceptibly the architecture, by a kind of inherent necessity, changed from the round to the pointed style, sprouting—for such a term can alone express its growth—somewhat earlier in some localities than in others, and always bearing the impress of strong local features, which features became, as time went on, more and more divergent, until, of two neighbouring countries, Flamboyant sat supreme in France and Perpendicular in England. Going further back, if we care to examine the matter, we shall find, when we come to the point, that the connection, whether in peace or war, with France has after the first Norman period produced only Westminster Abbey—a “beautiful French thought expressed in excellent English,” to use a happy expression—which was never imitated in England, in spite of the facilities of a royal abbey for setting the fashion. The four domes of the nave of Fontevrault, under whose shadow repose our early Angevin kings, has found no imitator, unless it be Sir C. Wren in the nave of St Paul’s; the unaisled apse of Lichfield, with its lofty windows, reaching almost to the ground, though an approximation to, is still widely different from, the usual apses of Germany, and it is the only example of its kind. The intimate connection between England and Flanders led only to the tower of Irthlingborough Church, Northants, a miniature imitation of the Belfry of Bruges, and possibly some resemblance between the church at Winchelsea and the far inferior edifice of Damme. We shall find that Scottish Gothic was very different from English, French from German, and both from Flemish, where the natural heaviness of the people seems transmitted to the architecture; while Spanish and Italian, though indebted to a great extent to Germany, are yet essentially distinct. We shall even find, if we go lower, that in so small and comparatively homogeneous a country as England, almost every district has its distinct style. Against these facts it is useless to urge a few quotations culled from ancient authorities, who were often by no means particular as to the exact significance of the words they employed—quotations, the meaning of which has often at the first been but imperfectly comprehended, and though copied without inquiry by succeeding authors, even when taken at their best, prove little or nothing. Nor can a few isolated statements respecting foreign builders and foreign assistance, together with some general remarks, often by no means warranted by the passages on which they are supposed to be founded, be allowed to weigh against the silent but unanswerable testimony of the buildings themselves, supported as it is by every argument of reason and common sense, and by every analogy with which our own experience and knowledge of history can furnish us.

The fall of Rome, or, to speak more correctly, the destruction of the Western portion of the Empire, left four countries free to follow a new path under new masters. These were Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Britain,—with Germany, which still, and for long after, remained

barbarous—and they constituted the ultimate field of Gothic or Pointed architecture. Of these, Spain was after no long period overwhelmed by the Moors, and there are no traces, so far as I am aware, of Visigothic architecture, and it may, therefore, be omitted in considering the origin of mediæval architecture. Gaul, which extended to the Rhine, was, after the final extinction of the old civilisation, of whom the poet exile Venantius Fortunatus may be considered as the latest exponent, in a deplorable state of barbarism, and, the northern portion at least, the favourite resort of Irish and, subsequently, of Anglo-Saxon missionaries. The barbarous chronicles of Fredegarius and his continuators, who alone transmitted a feeble torch after the death of St Gregory of Tours, at once shows how deep was the state of barbarism, and how little we have lost by the neglect of literature. Yet churches and convents must have multiplied exceedingly, for the Gallic church was exceedingly wealthy, and, so much so, as to tempt Charles Martel to a great measure of disendowment, though not of disestablishment, and the records of Councils and the lives of the Saints seem—the one with enactments concerning the church, the other with the chronicles of church building. To mention only two instances—St Boniface, in those wonderful epistles wherein he shows that, like St Paul, he had “the care of all the churches” from the Elbe to the Atlantic, and from the Garonne to the Grampians, repeatedly gives minute directions as to the building of monasteries, while St Rombauld the Irishman, who founded Mechlin, and where the cathedral is still dedicated to him, was martyred there, because, having employed some natives to build him a church, he refused to pay six days' wages for four days' work which they claimed, and was thereupon put to death, a proceeding eminently Belgian, and which shows also that natives, however uncivilised, were employed on local works. Still these edifices could not have been of any great size or magnificence, and probably depended for their splendour on their internal decorations, often of the most costly materials. It is significant that St Eloi, who is sometimes considered as a great architect, or, at least, church builder, was the king's goldsmith, and the *Basse œuvre* at Beauvais, a building of this date, certainly does not give a very high idea of the architectural magnificence of those times. The buildings of the Early Anglo-Saxon Church, the favourite daughter of Rome, were possibly more splendid, inasmuch as the earliest of them were derived directly from Italy, but the greater portion must have perished in the Danish wars; and the restorations by Alfred, although he too relied much on foreign aid, could scarcely have been extensive.

In Italy, not to mention the vast basilicas at Rome, which were the last efforts of the expiring empire, St Giovanni Laterani covered 60,000 square feet; and St Paolo fuori delle mura, destroyed by fire about fifty years ago, even more, while Old St Peter's surpassed every Gothic cathedral, covering no less than 127,000 square feet. We find undoubted Byzantine work at Ravenna, which, however, seems to have had no influence beyond the confined and ever narrowing limits of the exarchate, and not much in that, at least to judge by remains, while Sir G. Scott and others of the best judges greatly doubt whether there are really any remains of the so-called Lombard architecture, unless it be the tomb of Theodoric at Ravenna, before the formation of the exarchate, built by his daughter Amalasontha, and covered by a dome formed of a single block of stone 34 feet in diameter and 2 feet thick, and which seems to have been swung bodily into its place, for the loops cut in the stone are still visible,—perhaps the greatest recorded feat of sheer muscle. St Mark's is a Byzantine building of the eleventh century, and its influence does not seem to have extended further than that of its prototypes

at Ravenna, and there are a few churches which may possibly be attributed to some period between the two. Still Italy undoubtedly possessed considerable remains of the ancient civilisation, and some of her builders under the (perhaps generic) name of "Magistri Comacini" acquired considerable reputation, according to Muratori in one of his *Dissertations*, although he does not add any particulars nor even give an approximate date. Hence we may conclude, 1st, that no architecture worthy of the name existed in Western Europe up to the time of Charlemagne; and 2^d, that when any building of more than ordinary pretensions was in contemplation it was usual, at least among the Anglo-Saxons, to have recourse to Rome.

Nor is it very certain that even Charlemagne introduced any great improvement in architecture; the famous porch of the Lorsch still remains an undoubted monument of the great emperor; and there are one or more examples, especially in Switzerland, while to this period must be referred the celebrated plan of the Monastery of St Gall, drawn in the eighth century, and first published by Mabillon. However this may be, there can, I think, be little doubt but that the seeds of architecture, as well as those of civilisation generally, were laid at this period, and which, obscured for a time by the barbarian incursions and the dissolution of the Carlovingian empire, emerged in happier times never again to be oppressed. This more peaceful period began, as I have before said, somewhere about the year 1000, although it might probably be traced still earlier in districts like Switzerland and Provence, remote from war or favoured by nature, and from this period one style of architecture extended over the whole of the vast countries which had formed part of the Carlovingian empire. The Germanic portion is said by Scott to have been principally due to the influence of the Chancellor Bernward, and the French are stated by Viollet le Duc (both assertions being perhaps made without sufficient foundation) to have been due to the influence of Clugny. The true Romanesque is that which belongs to Germany and its dependencies, including Clugny, which was by far the noblest church of this era, and one of the finest of the whole mediæval series. It boasted two naves, one before the other, double transepts, double aisles throughout, and twin western towers, extending over a total length of 580 feet, and covering a superficies of 72,000 square feet. It was totally destroyed at the Revolution. After these come the great Rhine series, the churches at Cologue, and the cathedrals of Worms, Spires, and Mayence. France during this period being divided into several provinces almost, if not quite, independent of one another, boasted nearly as many distinct styles. That of Provence, which was perhaps the earliest, very closely resembles the old classical models, either from ancient reminiscences or its proximity to Italy, or from both combined. Aquitaine had a style of its own, of which the principal characteristics were the smallness of the windows, the long barrel-shaped vaulting, and the comparatively insignificant size of the buildings. The work of the Angevin or Aquitaine country, with its domical vaulting as at Fontevrault, seems a kind of cross between the German Romanesque and the Aquitanian barrel-vaulted or cavernous architecture. To the north of the Loire in the western portion, the Normans, a people of original genius, founded a style of their own very shortly after the commencement of this period, while the eastern half, the country between Normandy and the Flemish, a German frontier, lay to all appearance fallow, as if waiting for the mightier growth that was shortly to succeed. From Normandy this Norman crossed, as is well known, into England, where it superseded what there was of ancient architecture, which was probably not so very different from, though possibly inferior to, the ancient buildings subsisting on the other side of the Channel.

The new style was not long in appearing. In 1135 its first decisive effort was made at St Denis, and it continued for two hundred years in uninterrupted flow down to the time of the invasion of France by Edward III., after which the land became the prey of civil and foreign war for upwards of a century; until France finally shook off the foreign yoke, in the reign of Charles VII., in the middle of the fifteenth century. But by this time the mediæval spirit was dead throughout Europe, and although new marvels were occasionally erected in the Flamboyant, as with us in the Perpendicular, style, there could be no longer any possibility of such typical buildings as Rheims, Chartres, Bourges, Amiens, Rouen, Notre Dame, and St Ouen, which form the glory of the earlier era, coinciding with the splendour of the early French monarchy, which had been raised amongst others by Philip Augustus, to fall at Crecy and at Poitiers.

From France the style passed over into England, if it did not almost spontaneously germinate there, for Kirkstall, Fountains, Darlington church, Llantony, the entrance to the chapter-house of St Mary's, York, and portions of the still perfect Abbey Church of Selby, are scarcely antedated by anything in France—all ranging, according to the best authorities, from 1150 to 1190.

Germany comes certainly very considerably later. The earliest authentic specimen of Gothic is St Elizabeth of Marburg (1235), and the mighty Cologne is somewhat later still, and is, moreover, in respect to window tracing, a very palpable copy of Amiens, while the west front, in spite of the perfection of its gigantic proportions, would perhaps suffer, except in size, from a comparison with that of Rheims, had the spires of the latter been completed. The famous west front of Strassburg, according to Fergusson, was intended to be a mere square block, the spire having been added long afterwards, as an after-thought when not only Erwin von Steinbach, but his son, were in their graves. It was commenced by Erwin in 1277, and continued by him until 1318, when his son carried it on until 1365. The spire, 468 feet in height, was not finished until 1439. Now it is perfectly true that the existing spire formed no part of the original design, for the style is different, but that such a termination was intended is clear enough. The façade is simply the commencement of a new and more gigantic church, as may be seen by looking at it from the east, when the point to which the nave of the new edifice was intended to rise may be easily discerned. Had it been otherwise there would have been no need of the square mass—the omission of the upper central portion would have provided two western towers of good average height; but spires having been intended, this connection, which may be remotely likened to the webbing in a duck's foot, was necessary to prevent the lofty spires from appearing disproportionately high, even when connected with a loftier cathedral, an error into which the architect of Antwerp undoubtedly fell, as will be obvious to anybody who may take the trouble to imagine double spires to that edifice.¹ The vast church of Ulm would have boasted the loftiest pure tower in the world had it been completed, rising, as it would have done, to the height of 480 feet. As it is, it boasts of the lightest construction, the proportion of supports to areas being only 1 to 15. Beyond these I need only mention Ratisbon; unfinished Vienna, with the

¹ What the whole cathedral would have been like we have no means of knowing, though it is not impossible that the plans may still exist, but the front would have been of that square high-shouldered type not uncommon in Germany, and inferior in grace and majesty of proportion to Cologne.

loveliest, and very nearly the loftiest, spire in the world; and Fribourg, in Brisgau, also celebrated for its spire, although very inferior to the former.

The great churches of Belgium partake of the characteristics of both France and Germany, as might have been expected. Antwerp is famous for its size, it being the only church that possesses triple aisles throughout, and its spire, which owes perhaps some of its fame to its position. Napoleon indeed said that it resembled Mechlin lace, and deserved to be placed under a glass case. But, then, I am not aware that Napoleon was a judge either of architecture or lace, or that lace was meant to be put under a glass case. St Gudule, at Brussels, is good, but not first-rate. There are fine churches at Bruges and Ghent, and a later and finer at Ypres. St Rombauld, at Malines, would have had a single erect spire, equalling the twin giants at Cologne, but still wanting one-third of its height; while St Waudru, at Mons, was intended to have been adorned with a spire much like that at Malines, reaching to the stupendous altitude of 634 feet, the design of this—which was of course easy to sketch—still remains; but the tower, from the double failure, I believe, both of foundations and money—certainly the latter—never advanced beyond the first story. A still more ambitious design was entertained by the citizens at Louvain, who projected a cathedral with three spires, the central one of 535 feet, the two western 430 feet each. The design and a model, but no more, still exist in that city.¹ The finest, taken altogether, and certainly the most interesting, of the Belgian churches is undoubtedly Tournay. The nave is Romanesque, of the year 1066, the transepts 1146, and the choir comparatively early Gothic, 1213. As it stands, it covers 62,000 square feet, and had it been completed, like the choir, would have possessed few rivals, either in size or beauty. There is comparatively little worthy of notice in Holland.

Willis² says that there is no genuine specimen of Gothic in Italy, because the nation, emboldened by their art supremacy, attempted a style of their own, which was to combine the two, and met with the usual fate of those who occupy two stools. The original features, moreover, have been much "classicized." Italian Gothic comes principally from the school of Pisa, and hence the best specimens are in Tuscany, but there are good examples of real Gothic in South Italy, built under the Angevin dynasty, 1266-1435. The Pisan school began with the Duomo or cathedral, its foundations having been laid as early as 1069. The Baptistry was built 1153, and the Campanile or Leaning Tower 1180. The architects of this early Pisan school were Boschetto; Bonanni; William the German, or Tedesco; Nicola da Pisa; his son, Giovanni, and their descendants, Andrea and Tommaso, to the fourteenth century. St Andrea Vercelli was commenced A.D. 1219, and finished in three years, and is said to have been the work of an English architect, one Brigwithe, and indeed it much resembles Buildwas, Kirkstall, and other buildings of the same age in England, in plan, for all else is Italian. The external form is interesting, as having been expanded two centuries later by a German architect at Milan. Asti dates from 1229-1266, and St Francis Assisi (where a German and Italian architect are said to have worked conjointly) from 1228-1253. St Antonio at Padua, 1231-1307, is an Italian endeavour to unite the forms of English and German architecture

¹ Another and more dangerous mode of self-glorification was occasionally practised, as at Tirlemont, where the burghers amused themselves and their neighbours with throwing up ramparts of about twice the length that they could conveniently man.

² Willis, Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages, especially of Italy. According to Milman, "Rome is the city in which Gothic architecture has never found its place; even in Italy it has at no time been more than a half-naturalised stranger" (History of Latin Christianity, vol. vi., p. 587).

with the dome of St Marks. Sienna was begun 1243 and Orvieto 1290. The great cathedral at Florence was begun 1290, under Arnolpho da Lapo (for we somehow know the names of all the architects in Italy). The mass was finished in the first twenty years of the fourteenth century, but the great octagon remained open until 1420, when Brunelleschi commenced the present dome, which was completed in all its essential parts before his death in 1444. The nave consists of four huge bays with single aisles, and the total superficies is 84,802 square feet. The octagon was originally intended to have been surmounted by a spire built in receding stories, rising to the height of 500 feet, and surrounded by four lesser spires, each 400 feet high. The Florentines had instructed their architect to erect a cathedral that should surpass everything that human industry or human power had conceived of the great and beautiful, and had their instructions and his designs been carried out we should have seen what a great Gothic dome was really like. In 1390 the Bolognese determined to erect a monster cathedral, 800 feet long by 525 across the transepts; the width of the nave and transepts, with double aisles, was to have been 183 feet, and the total superficial area would have been no less than 212,000 feet, including a dome at the intersection, 130 feet in diameter, or only 6 feet less than that of Florence. Of this gigantic design, the nave only was completed; yet even this fragment forms one of the largest churches in the world, covering no less than 74,000 square feet. To say the least, the effect does not come up to the intention, and the great object of the architect—as, indeed, may be observed in many other Italian buildings—seems to have been to minimise the area occupied by the supports. Milan was commenced 1385, by order of Gian Galeazzo, first Duke of Milan, and was consecrated in 1418, when it was apparently finished, though the spire was completed by Brunelleschi 1440, and the façade, commenced 1470, was only terminated at the beginning of the present century. The architect was Henry Arlez, of Gemunden, or—as the Italians prefer to call him—Da Gamodia. This wonderful building is far too well known to require any detailed account; suffice it to say, that, leaving hypercriticism aside—for the details are far from pure—it must probably be considered as the most beautiful of all the Gothic edifices—wanting, it is true, a west front. It is not known whether a proper west front with spires was ever designed or intended, as at Cologne; but here again, as in almost every other building of the class I have had occasion to mention, the general character is not German, although it cannot be called Italian; so that we have no ground on which to base our conjectures. This most lovely creation is *sui generis*, and is no less striking by its originality than by its beauty. Besides, there may be mentioned, amongst many others, the beautiful Duomo at Como, that of Ferrara, and the church of St Francesco at Brescia. The south of Italy is almost a *terra incognita* to antiquaries, although, as has been said above, some specimens of Gothic are known to exist; and Sicilian Gothic, gorgeous with marble and mosaic, is a mixture of Greek, Roman, and Saracenic.

The Gothic of Spain, though in the south it may have been tinged with Moorish art, is principally an exotic coming from the south of France and Germany, with perhaps some English influence in portions of Valencia. The greater part of this province, however, with Catalonia, Aragon, and Navarre, followed the architecture of Southern France. Leon and Galicia had a style of their own, and so had the Castilles. How far the true French Gothic of the north was transplanted into Spain is doubtful. Street assigns a French origin not only to Toledo, but also to Burgos and Leon, the latter of which failed like Beauvais, but not

so conspicuously. Still, numerous German artists were undoubtedly employed in Spain (coming probably through Lombardy), and notably at Burgos, where the west front is a kind of clumsy imitation of Cologne, and he certainly admits some German influence. These foreigners, however, were, I imagine, employed principally on the greater works, for Street enumerates a large number of native architects or artificers, and the style is undoubtedly peculiar, more or less, to the country. It is the same everywhere else, even where the imitation is palpable, and foreign assistance is positively asserted. Possibly, indeed, these aliens acted in every case as "consulting engineers," giving the benefit of their advice, knowledge, and experience, but, perhaps necessarily, leaving the great bulk of the work to be carried out by the natives in their own way.

One or two of the churches about Orvieto are said to be of the ninth century, and there may exist others in the Asturian valleys. At Zamora there is a cathedral of the eleventh century, and the Templars had a round church at Segovia in 1204. During the whole of this period the round style prevailed, while the Moors were using pointed arches, but in truth, as Dr Whewell has well observed, the actual points of resemblance between the Moorish and Gothic style is, when examined in reality, of the most trifling and superficial kind. The first Pointed cathedral is that of Leon *circa* 1217, which, however, is as I have said before, most probably of French origin. The three great typical cathedrals are Burgos, Seville, and Toledo. The former was begun 1221, and was finished, as far at least as the bulk of the building is concerned, in the same century. The west front was erected two centuries later by two Cologne masons (or architects) John and Simon, and is a clumsy reminiscence of the west front of that cathedral. Toledo, inferior externally to Burgos, is of greater dimensions, being 350 by 174 feet, or upwards of 60,000 square feet, and 120 feet in interior height. It is chiefly remarkable, however, for the gorgeousness of its interior decoration and "furniture." Nowhere has the Spanish taste, severe and massive with respect to the buildings themselves, but lavish of this kind of decoration, displayed greater prodigality or more exuberant fancy, thus forming with its size an *ensemble* quite without parallel in any other building in Europe. Seville was built, probably by a German, on the foundations of a mosque. The famous Giralda is, as we all know, of Moorish origin. It was commenced 1401, and completed 1519. As the transepts do not project, its general plan is that of a rectangle, and the external aspect is heavy and lumpish. It is, however, remarkable for its immense size. Possessed not only of double aisles, but also of side chapels, it is 370 feet long by 270 wide, covering a space of no less than 100,000 square feet, being thus very considerably larger than Cologne or St Maria at Florence, and exceeded by Milan alone among mediæval edifices. Portugal possesses some rather fine churches at Belem and probably elsewhere, for the interior of the country is almost unknown. There cannot, however, be many, the great earthquake, and the rage for rebuilding which followed the French invasion, having destroyed in all probability the greater portion. It possesses a gem, however, in Batalha, erected by John of Portugal in consequence of a vow made before battle in 1385, with his namesake of Spain (hence the name). Its size is small, being 264 feet by 72. To the right of the entrance is the tombhouse of its founder and his wife Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt; but the most beautiful portion, the sepulchre at the east end, commenced by Emmanuel the Fortunate, was, unfortunately, left unfinished. It is, or was to have been, 65 feet in diameter. Murphy, in his scientific monograph, gives the name of the architect of the

church itself as one David Hackett, an Irishman.¹ If so, he must have belonged to the Pale. The credit of having designed this structure has also been given to Stephen Stephenson, an Englishman, but in any case, the architecture is neither English, Spanish, and certainly not Irish (though a slight resemblance can be traced between the architecture of Ireland and those of the Peninsula). The other great church is that of Alcobaça, 1148-1222, a grand simple Cistercian edifice, 300 feet long by 64 high. The nave comprises fourteen bays, surpassing by one any that I can remember elsewhere, and the whole terminates in an apse with seven chapels. The style is nearly Norman, and coincides with the period when the French adventurers, under one of the Bourbons, first founded the Portuguese kingdom.

England I have reserved to the last. Though it has often been asserted that the Romans were peculiarly partial to architectural magnificence in Britain, and, in spite of the evidence of Eumenius, in one of his panegyrics, that Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, rebuilt Autun, 276, by the aid of artificers from Britain, which was then renowned for its skilful workmen; of the words of Gibbon—who never misquoted his authorities,—to the effect that Carausius effected much in the way of architecture in the country; or even of Malmsbury and others, who speak with admiration of the Roman remains still existing in their time—and they were conversant with stately buildings,—I must be allowed to state my belief that the architectural efforts of Rome were in Britain comparatively inferior. Here, again, the buildings must be my witnesses. Camps we have in plenty, also the remains of many walled cities and military roads; but the efforts of luxury and refinement are few and far between, although, in the solitary instance of Woodchester, a villa has been found whose dimensions almost equalled the Laurentine one described by Pliny. Indeed, it can scarcely be supposed that the Romans would care much to make any permanent residence in so remote a dependency, and the long and desperate struggle of the emancipated colonists against their Anglo-Saxon invaders (Britain was the only province that did struggle), shows how little hold the civilisation, enervating at the end, of Rome had obtained over the country.² The Celts, or whatever we may choose to designate the indigenous tribes, were no builders. Their greatest efforts—Stonehenge, Avebury, Silbury Hill, Maiden Castle, and the Herefordshire Beacon—supposing them to have preceded or succeeded the period of Roman domination—were but the efforts of the muscle of sheer numbers; and in Ireland, which has sometimes boasted a superior civilisation—for Ireland has always arrogated to herself what no other nation has been willing on calm reflection to allow her—the utmost efforts of Celtic art, aided often by Norman skill, has been the round tower or belfry, seldom exceeding 100 feet in height, and chapels, 20, 40, and 60 feet in extreme length, which served as shrines in which the priest officiated before the multitude assembled in the open air. When magnificence was required, several chapels were congregated in one place, as at Cashel, Glendalough, and elsewhere. These chapels were remarkable for more than one peculiarity—they had solid stone roofs,³ were never more than 60 feet in length, which seems to have been *de règle* among the Celts, as it was the length of the primitive church of Glastonbury, and like it they were very

¹ J. C. Murphy, Batalha. This "Hackett" (or "Stephenson") may have been a consulting engineer, as suggested above (see Dallaway, Discourses upon Architecture, p. 109).

² See, however, Coote, The Romans in Britain, *passim* and *ante*, pp. 36-46 (*The Roman Collegia*).

³ A curious example of how things repeat themselves may be seen in Lord Digby's mortuary chapel at the cemetery of Sherborne, Dorset, which is almost an exact counterpart, save for its apsidal termination.

often made of wattle. This wicker method of building went among the older chroniclers by the name of *Mos Scotorum, Mos Britannorum* (though the church of St Ninian at Whitherne, in Galloway, was apparently of stone whitewashed, hence the name *Candida Casa*, the White House, *alias* Whitherne), and they never terminated in an apse, which was indeed abhorrent to the Celts, probably because adopted at that time by all the other nations—the Irish Church, like the Irish people, was always at enmity with every other, because the Irish, as the purest of the Celtic race, were, and always have been, totally at variance with all the succeeding waves of population. As the Celts were, so they remained—untouched by the long domination of Rome ; for Gildas, writing somewhere about the end of British independence, *circa* 570, says that in his time the towns and cities laid waste during former invasions of the barbarians “still lay waste.” We may assume, therefore, with tolerable safety, that the Romans taught but little of their art to the provincials, that, therefore, the oft-quoted example of the Chichester inscription is little to the point, and that the *collegia* could not have survived the devastating wars and revolutionary changes, which, lasting during two centuries, followed the withdrawal of the legions, more especially as it has been by no means clearly proved that the Chichester inscription refers to the building trades.¹

The Saxons when they arrived were mere barbarians, and had, of course, no architecture—properly so-called—of their own. Gregory, in his letters to Augustine, recommends him indeed to make use as far as possible of the pagan temples, but he could not have known accurately what these temples were; still his letter not only displays political wisdom, but allows a wide latitude in applying it. Yet Augustine and his followers, amongst whom there may have been some knowledge of the building art, were enabled, together with certain of the natives, probably Romano-Britons, to construct various churches, one or two of which were dignified by the name of cathedrals. St Martin’s, at Canterbury, already existed (possibly, too, the church within the castle at Dover, which has a very Roman-looking chancel arch), and there was another on the site of the present St Alphege, dedicated to the Quatuor Coronati, who, without referring to their connection with the building trades, were at this time very fashionable saints, though, as usually happens with fashion, without any particular reason.² When Christianity and civilisation had become firmly established a better class of edifice arose, especially in the North, which, in the earliest and best times, was the main seat of Anglo-Saxon genius. The founders of these churches, notably Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid, drew largely on Rome. Descriptions remain of the cathedral at York in the poem by Alcuin (*De Pontificebus*) ; of that of Winchester in the Life of St Swithin by Lantfrid.³ Descriptions of churches occur in Bede and the “*Historia Ramsiensis*,” and in Eddius’ “Life of Wilfrid,” of Ripon and Hexham, which latter accounts are borne out by William of Malmesbury in his work “*De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*,” as well as, as regards Hexham, in the description left by Richard of Hexham in the twelfth century, who describes the edifice as still standing, having curiously enough escaped the Danish ravages.

¹ See *ante*, chap. i., p. 38, note 1.

² It is not quite clear whether the church of the “Four Crowned Martyrs” was in existence at the period of Augustine’s arrival in Britain (see W. H. Ireland, *History of the County of Kent*, 1828, vol. i., pp. 178, 179). The subject of the “Quatuor Coronati” will be hereafter considered.

³ It is gravely recorded that the bishop, watching the progress of the tower, and seeing a workman fall from the summit, arrested his downward progress in mid-air until help arrived. It does not seem to have struck the worthy hagiograph that it would have been quite as easy, as well as much more soothing to the poor man’s nerves, to have brought him safely to earth !

Moreover, the appearance of the Saxon Canterbury is preserved in Gervasius, copying Eadmer, who wrote while the building was still standing; it was pulled down by Lanfranc. From these various descriptions we may gather that the Anglo-Saxon edifices were little if at all inferior to those then existing on the Continent, and were very similar to them; they usually had a double apse as at Canterbury, *i.e.*, one at each end, and where this arrangement did not exist, there was a central tower and a single one at the west end, an arrangement not uncommon in later edifices. The rapid rise of Anglo-Saxon civilisation, as compared with the barbarism in which Gaul was then steeped, and its close intercourse with Rome, will be a guarantee of what has been advanced, even if it were not corroborated by the magnitude of existing remains in comparatively secluded districts, such as Brixworth, a dependency of Peterborough. But here, as abroad, magnificence was displayed rather in furniture and decoration, principally in the precious metals, than in architecture. Malmsbury, in his "Antiquities of Glastonbury"¹—and Malmsbury was a monk of Glastonbury—says that Ina, of Wessex (*ob.* 727), built a chapel there on which he lavished no less than 2835 lbs. of silver, and 332 lbs. of gold, an almost incredible sum when we consider the purchasing power of the precious metals in those times. The chapel seems to have been literally plated with silver, weighing 2648 lbs.,² recalling the first Temple on a small scale. This period of Anglo-Saxon prosperity lasted, however, only for a time. Already, at the termination of the Heptarchy, the Danish storm began to rise, and Alcuin, the peaceful man of letters, had scarcely time to make good his retreat to the wealth and security of the court of Charlemagne, whence he indited consolatory epistles to his fellow countrymen, before its full fury burst on Northumbria, his native land, as being the nearest of access. A dreary period of 100 years followed, until a partial revival took place under the Great Alfred, but by this time the genius of the Anglo-Saxons had disappeared, and the country gradually decayed, awaiting the arrival of a superior race. Still the efforts of this last century are by no means to be despised either in literature or architecture, although certainly the former, and probably the latter, are more distinguished by painstaking than genius. Most of the 120 specimens—many probably conjectural—of enumerated Anglo-Saxon remains still existing, belong to this period. A portion, at least, of the crypt at Hexham is supposed to be the undoubted work of Wilfred, but the recently unearthed, or rather, *unsanded* church, at Perranzabuloe in Cornwall (pounced upon by the Protestant section most animated in its hatred towards Rome, as a specimen of the primitive church undefiled), is clearly of the twelfth century, owing its supposed simplicity to the remoteness and poverty of the district, and the intractable nature of the material. Ordericus Vitalis says that Dunstan, Oswald, and Ethelwold, the great restorers of monastic discipline, founded together 26 monasteries out of the 100 or so existing before the Conquest, but the word *monasterium* with the Anglo-Saxons sometimes means a church with three or four priests attached to it. Alfred did all in his power, and Edgar, prompted by St Dunstan, restored or founded 48, which, I presume, are not reckoned in the above. With this we may compare the statement of Malmsbury, who speaks of the repairs effected by Odo and Athelstane, which may be the origin of the legend of the York Free-

¹ *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae.*

² Witness also the gift in precious metal which Harold, who must have been comparatively a poor man, lavished on Waltham. The Anglo-Saxons were decidedly luxurious at home, much more so than the Normans, and our home comforts were probably derived from them. Something of this luxury doubtless found its way into the churches.

masons, but the latter could have effected but little in his short and troubled reign.¹ I may mention here a curious miracle related in all good faith by one of the three contemporary biographers of St Ethelwold. Finding but little scope for his talents in England, he was on the point of leaving the country, when the king, to retain his services, gave him the decayed monastery of Abingdon as a sphere for his energies. He set vigorously to work, and having rebuilt and refilled his establishment, he prepared a great feast for the consecration, to which various bishops, abbots, eaordmannen, and the king himself were invited. As the feast went on the beer ran short, whereupon the saint imitated the miracle of Cana on certain tubs of water, to such an extent that the whole party finished the entertainment in a recumbent position on the floor! The Anglo-Saxons—even the monks—were great lovers of beer, and we may compare with the above the story of the two young monks who went to see St Guthlac, the hermit of Croyland, and who brought a jar of beer with them to refresh on the way. Having done so, they took the precaution to hide the jar in the sedge some distance from the hermitage, but, unfortunately, having approached the saint too closely during the act of confession, they were literally convicted out of their own mouths, which Felix, the friend and biographer of St Guthlac, cites as another miracle!

As to the living hands which wrought at these edifices we have naturally not much information. Wilfrid, according to Malmesbury, personally superintended his buildings,² which, considering the rudeness of the bulk of his labourers, he was probably obliged to do. The same may be seen in many other examples in these early times, and which, after all, is not so very different from what we continually read of in the missionary records of our own time. The “*Historia Ramsiensis*,” c. xv., contains an account of Ailwyn’s foundation of Ramsey, in which he was assisted by Oswald, and from which it appears that his architect was one *Ædnothus*, of Worcester, who is distinctly said to have been a skilful architect.³ The foundations were beaten down with the beetle and not laid on piles, owing to which slovenly and very characteristic Anglo-Saxon mode of proceeding the tower fell shortly after it was erected. The church was cruciform, and had one tower in the centre and another at the west end—a form which long survived.⁴ It appears that a large staff of workmen, builders, and others, were employed; and the same was the case at Worcester, as we learn from Eadmer,⁵ who relates a story of a black demon who during the building of the cathedral came and sat on a stone, and so defied the efforts of eighty men to raise it until exorcised by the saint. Croyland was built of stone, and in a more painstaking and scientific manner by Ethelbald, 716 (the bright period of Saxon genius). The foundations rested on piles, which, indeed, in such a locality, was the only way that a church, unless built of wattles, would have stood at all.

“*At cum tam mollis, tam lubrica, tam male constans,
Fundamenta palus non feret saxea, palos*

¹ See *ante*, chap. i. (*The Culdees*), p. 52, note 3; and chap. ii., pp. 81, 86, 97 (§ xxiii.), and 101.

² *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, Lib. iii., 1171, Rolls Series, p. 255.

³ Besides *Ædnothus*, *Ælfric*, abbot of Malmesbury, is said to have been *adficandi gurus* (Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, 1691, vol. ii., p. 33). Cf. Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, Lib. v., 253, Rolls Series, p. 405.

⁴ See also the poem of “*Ethelwalt de Abbatibus Lindisfarniensis*,” one of the latest productions of Northumbrian literature.

⁵ *Vita S. Oswaldii*.

Precipit infigi querino robore casos
Leucarumque novem spatio rate fertur areua."¹

There is, or was, a curious inscription on a stone in Kirkdale churchyard, West Yorkshire, 7 feet 5 inches by 1 foot 10 inches, built into the wall over the south porch. The inscription ran as follows:—"Orin Gamel's son bought St Gregory's minster. Then it was all broken and fallen. Chelittle and others made it new from the ground, to Christ and St Gregory. In the days of Eadward the King (Confessor) and in the days of Earl Tosti. And Howard me wrought, and Brand the priest."

This seems to show that in those primitive times there was not much distinction between callings, and that the priest often assisted, and, indeed, was obliged to assist in building his own church, which, however, from the general simplicity of construction, he had not much difficulty in doing.²

A good deal has been made of the word *getymbrian*, to construct with timber, being synonymous with "to build," and it has been inferred that the majority of the Saxon buildings were made of wood, which is, I think, an unfair generalisation.³ Bede speaks of *camentarii*, who would seem, at least at first, to have been rough masons working with coarse rubble, which was afterwards plastered over. This process was very common in early times; it was adopted as late as the Norman Abbey of St Albans, and the church and town of Whitherne, in Galloway, derived their names, as we have seen, from the same style. On the whole, we may, I think, fairly conclude that the Anglo-Saxon was but little different from that of the neighbouring Continent, probably superior in the first and inferior in the latter half of the period when England suffered more from barbarian savages than the Continent, and which, as being the more remote, was naturally the last to receive the impulse of the "novum ædificandi genus," which was equally new on the Continent half a century before it became so in England. For it must not be forgotten that when the Normans took possession of England an increased magnificence in architecture, based on advancing civilisation, had been everywhere prevalent for more than half a century, and it had even made its influence felt in England, where the Confessor—at least half a Norman—had erected Westminster Abbey after a design which is made tolerably clear by the rude sketch in the Bayeux Tapestry, and one of whose arches (there represented) still remains in the exterior of the south transept, and is very conspicuous from the cloisters. It was evidently the central portion of the façade of that transept. A similar but later example may be seen in the magnificent Norman arch composing the main portion of the west front of Tewkesbury, and it may be even the remote prototype of Peterborough itself. However, the impulse was vastly quickened with the arrival of the Normans, who, though doubtless with great cruelty and oppression, infused new life and vigour into the decaying Anglo-Saxon realm. They not only rebuilt the churches, but in some cases even removed the Sees. Thus, Selsey migrated to Chichester, Dorchester to Lincoln, and Thetford to Norwich. Fourteen of our cathedrals retain considerable portions

¹ Metrical Life of St Guthlac [Felix], quoted in Camden. The MS. is in the British Museum.

² "In the monasteries the monks practised the different mechanical arts. By a law published in the reign of Edgar, but probably transcribed from a more ancient regulation, every priest was commanded to learn some handicraft in order to increase knowledge" (Lingard's History of England, vol. i., p. 266).

³ In *Ælfric's Colloquies*, a kind of school-book, written in the form of a dialogue, towards the commencement of the eleventh century, a carpenter is made to say that he makes houses and carves bowls; but the same may be said of many a village carpenter of the present day.

of Norman architecture, and several of them—such as Norwich, Durham, and Peterborough—are principally of this date, of which, and the ensuing transitional periods, are the nave, transepts, and west front of Ely. These churches are of great size, the three mentioned above being over 400 feet in length, while Winchester, St Albans, and the totally ruined abbey of St Edmund's Bury exceeded 500. The latter was remarkable for the singular arrangement of a great extent of its west front. The nave aisles were flanked by two apsidal chapels, and these again by two octagon towers, the whole extending to no less than 240 feet. Reading Abbey Church, founded by King Henry I., was 420 feet. The greatest, however, was Old St Paul's, with its Early English eastern termination; it extended 600 feet east and west, and 300 feet north and south in the transepts. The height of this nave was 102 feet, which was one or two feet higher than Westminster—our loftiest remaining example; and the spire subsequently added was the highest in the world (534 feet). The nave, choir, and transepts were 100 feet broad, so that the total superficies was 80,000 square feet, forming the largest cathedral then existing, and only subsequently surpassed by three (in the Middle Ages)—Seville, Milan, Florence; and it has sometimes been gravely stated that this cathedral covered $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, $1\frac{1}{2}$ roods, and 6 perches, which comes to exactly 170,272 square feet. Similarly the choir is always said to have been 188 feet high. Any one looking at Hollar's Views, less rude than usual, in "Dugdale," will see that the line of roof was exactly level with that of the nave, but underneath the choir came the crypt or chapel of St Faith, and the choir was approached by a double flight of steps, as shown in one of Hollar's engravings, exactly like Canterbury, the real internal height was, of course, 88, and the "1" added was a misprint, which no one has ever noticed or troubled to correct. Similarly, it is always said that Hampton Court Palace was a great deal larger before the alterations by Wren than it is now. No one has ever been at the trouble to remark that the original front—as shown by Hollar, not a very scarce engraving—is the same length as the present, and that the only place where buildings could have existed is in the small gardens between the south side of the palace, and the viney and river which has, as far as I know, never been asserted by any one. I mention these instances somewhat at detail, as showing how utterly unreliable statements are, as a rule, unless backed up with proofs drawn from the buildings themselves. Winchester and St Albans were the subjects of a strange transformation. The process in the nave of the former by Edyton and Wykeham, has been most admirably described by Willis—that in the latter case being arrested as it were midway, is more able to speak for itself. The singular resemblance in shape, and general ground plan, especially in the immense length, the somewhat peculiar east ends, the altar screens, the Norman work of the central tower, and transepts being in both cases left untouched, and even in such purely accidental coincidences as the deliberate destruction of the Norman façade in the case of Winchester, and the demolition of that of St Albans with the intention of rebuilding it—an intention which was never carried out—is very extraordinary, more especially as there seems no way of accounting for it. Gloucester nave was also transformed at a later date, but after a different fashion. Besides the above may be mentioned Battle and St Augustines, of the churches of which there are now no trace, though the latter was certainly small. The magnificent Abbey of Malmesbury—the nave of which is still standing, the ruins of Castle Rising, one of the finest specimens of this age, the mutilated churches of St John's, Chester, Waltham and St Bartholomew's Priory, London, together with the Norman portions of the still perfect edifices

of Romsey, St Cross, and Christ Church—all monastic—further attest the activity of this period. Parish churches, or at least the parts which are Norman, are, as in the ensuing epoch, still tolerably numerous, witness the beautiful little churches of Ifley, near Oxford, and Barfreston in Kent; the fine church, formerly a priory, of St Germans, Cornwall, with its massive west front; and what remains—after a restoration—of Old St Pancras, London.

The Normans were very good builders—when they chose—as may be seen by the ashlar work grouted in, *i.e.*, loose flints thrown between two walls of freestone or ashlar, and then filled in with strong liquid mortar poured on in a hot state, which walls have acquired the consistency of rock. This mode was generally used in castles and sometimes in churches; the remains of the west front of Bury, denuded as it is of its ashlar, look like natural cliffs; but very often they did not so choose, and then the walling is made of the worst rubble, merely plastered with ashlar, and with bad foundations, inasmuch as a Norman tower, at least, in the centre was rarely intended to rise much above the roof. This bad habit was continued by their successors, and has been the cause of the fall of many towers, and of several ingenious contrivances—as at Wells and Salisbury, in the central arches—in the Middle Ages, and of not a little anxiety in modern times. None of the Norman buildings were vaulted or were intended to be so, and all vaulting on Norman piers and walls is subsequent. This, as well as the badness of the masonry, which was partly its cause, must have originated in the clumsiness of the Saxon workmen they were forced to employ. Almost all the churches had apsidal terminations towards the east, but just as there were exceptions to the universal apse in France, *e.g.* at Laon, so there were a few in England, as at Old Sarum, Romsey, and St Cross, Winchester. Their doorways are remarkably rich, much more so than in the subsequent period, when they became rather distinguished for their plainness; and it would almost seem as if these gorgeous portals, such as Barfreston and Malmesbury, were a reminiscence of the elaborate wooden carvings which still decorate the entrances of the churches of Norway. One reason why the true Gothic sprang up almost simultaneously in France and England was, that at that particular time the frontiers of the two kingdoms were almost conterminous from one end of France to the other, while the divergence of French and Germans, as distinguished from the close intercourse between France and England, will sufficiently explain why the Gothic was so tardy in traversing the geographically imperceptible Teutonic frontier. The common comparison of Amiens with Salisbury is little to the purpose. The greater size of Amiens does not necessitate a greater perfection in architecture; if it did, Amiens would in its turn have to yield to Old St Paul's, nor does the greater elaboration of certain portions prove more. French architecture was, in certain features, always more elaborate than English; in others, the case was reversed, and both these examples show the proficiency of the respective nations in their respective styles.

Passing over some instances I have already alluded to, we come to the choir of Canterbury, commenced by William of Sens as architect 1173, and continued when he was forced, 1179, to resign his post owing to injuries received in his profession, by his pupil William the Englishman, who has been supposed by some to have been the same as William of Coventry, whose praises as an architect are recorded by Malmesbury. The general idea of this portion of the cathedral has often been said to have been taken from that of Sens, as is not unlikely, and the Frenchman is also credited with having been the first to introduce stone roof vaulting into this country, which may also be admitted. The Englishman, however, has much improved upon his predecessor and his example. The central mass of Lincoln, the east transept, choir, part of

west transept, and the chapter-house, were the work of Hugh of Grenoble, or the Burgundian, between the years 1186-1200. This was probably one of the last churches in England built with an apse. The foundations were discovered beneath the high altar when relaying the pavement in the last century. Professor Willis somewhere calls the architect Alex. de Noyes "a crazy Frenchman," in reality he was a member of a Norman family long settled in Lincolnshire.¹ The finest of these very Early English edifices is, however, the nave and west front of Wells, built by² Joscelin Trotman, bishop of Wells, brother of Hugh of Wells (who must not be confused with the Burgundian bishop of Lincoln, who built the west front and nave of that cathedral at the same time). The sculptures of the façade of Wells are a truly national monument, numbering 300 in all (the façade is 147 feet in width), of which 140 are either life size or colossal. They were finished 1242, two years after the birth of Cimabue, who restored painting in Italy. They were in progress while Nicolo Pisano was restoring Italian sculpture, and were finished forty-six years before the perpetually-quoted Amiens, and thirty-six years before Orvieto was ever begun. They are English in design, and wholly different from the contemporary works executed in Edward the Confessor's chapel, Westminster, by Benvenuto and Torell—who has been supposed by some to have been an Englishman, though probably without sufficient reason. "There are many compositions of the Almighty creating Eve by Giotto, Buon Amigo, Buifal-maceo Ghiberti, and Michael Angelo, but this at Wells is certainly not inferior to any of the others." These are the words of the late Professor Cockerell in his "Iconography of Wells," and they carry not a little weight as coming from one so distinguished, not only for the purity of his taste, but for his devotion to classical and Italian forms. He says, further, that they surpass the works of John of Pisa, a contemporary, and those of even a greater man, John Flaxman. There is every evidence that the building of the nave is of the same date, and is, like the front, the work of a local school of masons whose influence can be traced to a very considerable extent in the neighbouring district.

Salisbury was commenced under Bishop Poore 1220, and finished, all but the tower and spire, 1258, by Bishop Giles, having cost 40,000 marks, or £6666, 13s. 4d., besides the gift of Alicia de Bruere, who gave all the stone for twelve years. The cloisters and chapter-house were built somewhat later (1263-84), and the tower and spire by Bishop Robert de Wyvill 1330-75. Westminster was begun by Henry III., and completed by his son, all but the towers, which are by Wren, and which display great knowledge of the form but little of the detail of true Gothic. This is probably owing, in some manner, to the want of technical skill among the masons. Almost the whole of the church, especially the magnificent north transept, was refaced by Wren, as may be seen by the masons' marks on the stones as they are removed, and the whole is now in gradual process of restoration. Westminster is clearly an imitation from the French, but an imitation which bears an English impress on every line. It is inferior in height to the great French examples, it has single and not double aisles; its apse is comparatively simple, not to say clumsy, its two rose windows, though certainly fine, are inferior to many French examples; its pilasters of (formerly) polished marble are, I believe, comparatively unknown across the Channel; the great doorways,

¹ M. de Lassus so far improved upon the idea as to say that he reproduced at Lincoln the church of Blois, of which he was a native. The ensemble of Lincoln, coupled with its unrivalled position, originated the old proverb referring to an envious man, "He looks like the devil over Lincoln." If York be the king, Lincoln is the queen of English cathedrals. The rose window in the south-west transept is the most beautiful in England.

² In saying "built by," I refer to the bishop during whose episcopate the structure was erected.

though huge and cavernous, especially those of the northern transept, as in France, have yet a character of their own, and, except in size, resemble those of the west front of Lichfield, and the Presbytery of Lincoln. I mention these points in detail, as showing the essential difference between the two styles, and how little the one could have influenced the other. Similarly, the mosaic work of the shrine of the Confessor and the tomb of the founder, though in an admirable position for setting the fashion, found no imitators. Our practical ancestors knew that they seldom had sufficient light to set off mosaic, and therefore adapted their buildings for stained glass, for which they had sun enough; we, who work by patterns and drawings, merely first put up mosaics in churches naturally too dark for them, and then proceed to darken them still more by the introduction of stained glass, to the great waste of both money and effect. Nor did the beautiful paintings in the Chapter House, evidently by Italian artists, result in either founding a school or in the more extended employment of Italian talent.

The choir of old St Paul's was remarkable for its east windows, the rose of which, forming the upper portion, must have equalled, if it did not excel, any foreign example, for it occupied the entire width of the central aisle, a space of 40 feet. The transepts of York, built 1215-56, by John le Romaine, treasurer of the cathedral, are remarkable—the north for the five lancets, called the “Five Sisters,” 50 feet in height, and still filled with the original stained glass, and the southern for the largest rose window in England, 27 feet in diameter. No date or name either of architect, mason, or benefactor has been preserved relative to the magnificent west front of Peterborough; but Britton assigns it to Abbots Acharius and Robert de Lyndsay, 1200-22. This is a real stroke of genius, and one of the very finest conceptions of mediæval architecture, consisting as it does of three huge arches 82 feet in height and 156 feet in total breadth, surmounted by two spires, four are (said to have been) intended, each 156 feet in height. This design is, I believe, unique in mediæval architecture, and must rather be compared to the great façades of the ancients. Even among them it may be said to have been without a rival, only one of the great temples, that of Diana at Ephesus, fairly surpassed it in width, 220 feet. Yet even this must have been inferior in height; while the eight columns—they were only 60 feet high—and the seven intercolumnar spaces must have produced far less effect than the three gigantic openings of Peterborough. From centre to centre of the columns of the temple of Diana was 31 feet, and the clear height to the entablature was 60 feet. From centre to centre of the piers at Peterborough was 52 feet, and from the pavement to the crown of the arch 82 feet.

The greater number of our abbeys, either whole or in ruins, not Norman, belong to this and the commencement of the succeeding period. A portion of the reconstruction of St Albans, the great series of Yorkshire abbeys, Fountains (very Early) Byland, St Mary's, York, Guisborough, now almost utterly destroyed, but still with sufficient remains to admit of a restoration, and boasting an east window which surpassed even those of York and Gloucester, Selby, Bridlington, the earlier and chaster twins Whitby and Rievaulx, a considerable portion of Beverley, which proceeded *pari passu* with its gigantic neighbour York, and Tintern, in Monmouth, the gem of all the abbeys of England, remarkable not only for its perfect proportions, but as rivalling in comparative height the loftiest Continental examples (it is 220 feet long and 70 high).¹ The vast and famous Glastonbury, Netley, Wenlock, Walsingham,

¹ A north country architect once said that though he had often tried to persuade himself that some of the Yorkshire series surpassed it, he could never quite succeed in accomplishing the feat.

Bayham, portions of Christchurch and Romsey, Southwell and Newstead, Hexham in the extreme north, and the small but exquisite chancel of Hythe, on the Kentish coast. Also Croyland and Thorney, which, together with Peterborough, formed links in the chain of the great Fen abbeys, originally of Saxon foundation, and which long retained a Saxon nationality. A rude rhyme, evidently of mediaeval origin, was current concerning them half a century ago in the Fens, and may be so still, giving the characteristics popularly supposed to belong to them :—

“ Ramsey, the rich of gold and of Fee,
Thorney, the flower of many a fair tree,
Croyland, the courteous of their meat and their drink,
Spalding, the gluttons, as all men do thiuk,
Peterborough the proud,
Sawtry by the Way, that old abbaye
Gave more alms than they all
In one day.”

The decorated style—usually considered as that in which Gothic architecture in England attained its climax—numbers as its *chefs-d'œuvre* the Presbytery of Lincoln, with which, it is said, no fault has ever been found, the great works of conversion at Winchester, commenced by Bishop Edynton (1345-66), and continued by Wykeham to 1404, comprising the whole of the nave, certainly the longest, and generally considered the finest, in England, although it is shorter than that of the original Norman church by 60 feet, and also wants its west front, which was 100 feet in breadth, the foundations of this portion having been discovered in the last century ; it is to be regretted that the original lines were not adhered to, as, although the nave would certainly have been disproportionately long, it would have avoided the “amputated” appearance common to too many of the west fronts of our cathedrals.¹ The alterations of and additions to Bishop Lucy's Early English work to the east of the centre tower, were carried out at a later date. The nave of Canterbury is of the same date, and somewhat earlier come the great works of conversion at Exeter, whereby the whole cathedral, with the exception of the towers, was transformed into a decorated edifice of extreme beauty. It was commenced under Bishop Quivil about 1280, and the same design, supposed by some to have been that of Quivil himself, was continued under Bishops Bittern and Grandison to the year 1369, when the edifice was completed, with the exception of the screen at the west front, with its double row of statues, the work of Bishop Brantingham (1370-94). Lichfield, inferior on the whole to Wells, whose lower and eastern portions are of this date, but still one of the most beautiful cathedrals in the country, falls principally within this period,—the west front dating from 1275, the Lady Chapel from 1300, and the Presbytery from 1325. The west front, although inferior in sculptural glories to Wells, and diminutive when compared with York or Lincoln, or the solemn grandeur of Peterborough, yet ranks among the richest and most beautiful examples of the kind. Further, it is the only church in England possessing three spires, and the only genuine example of an English apse. This apse, however, without surrounding aisles, and with windows reaching almost to the ground, is more German than French, while here again, as at Westminster, the English origin of the design

¹ In this instance, giving the west front the appearance of having been amputated and the wound healed over, as was really the case later at Hereford.

must immediately declare itself. The choir of Bristol is of this period, and deserves at least a passing notice, inasmuch as it differs *in toto* from almost every other cathedral, not only in the three aisles being of the same height—a peculiarity not uncommon in parish churches,—but also in the character of the vaulting. Unfortunately, it has been tried on too small a scale in the old choir to enable one to judge perfectly of the effect, but since I have seen it the nave has been either built or rebuilt (for it is a disputed point whether there had ever been a nave, though the space was certainly there on which it might have stood), which would give a better idea of the full effect of the plan. The choir of Carlisle deserves mention for its east window, which, though not the largest, is the most beautiful in England. The greater portion of the magnificent York Minster belongs to this period, but though of surpassing size and splendour, it offers no special points; it is, moreover, too well known to need further description here. In 1322 a new presbytery was built at Ely, displaying, however, a fine series of lancet windows at the east end. A heavy leaden spire was added to the old Norman central tower at the same time, and was probably the cause of its fall. Fortunately, at that time the control of the works was under a man of real genius, Alan de Walsingham,¹ the sub-prior, "*Venerabilis et artificiosus frater*," as he is said to be styled in the "*Historia Eliensis*," and who had already in the preceding year laid the foundations of the Lady Chapel (a detached building to the north). Walsingham avoided the oft-recurring danger of the heavy central towers, and by cutting off the angles of the intersection, introduced not only a safer method of construction, but what is, perhaps, the most beautiful feature in the whole range of Gothic architecture. I allude to the famous octagon. Words are wasted in the description, for no one who has not stood beneath its vaulted roof and surveyed the long aisles extending on every side, the whole in the highest state of perfection, can have any idea of the wondrous effect of the whole. Suffice it to say, that the dome of St Paul's, of which it is the prototype, has been, though far larger, confessed to be inferior even by classical architects. There would almost seem to have been a rivalry between Ely and its neighbour, Peterborough, and that the octagon was an effort to surpass the west front of the latter in a different direction. Peterborough excels in severe majesty, but, as far as grace and beauty are concerned, Alan realised his most sanguine expectations—if he had them,—but scarcely so in originality, there being some approaches to the octagon in the earlier Romanesque churches abroad, in baptisteries, chapter-houses, and the churches of the Templars. Its comparatively remote situation and the isolation which seems inherent to all things British, as far, at least, as regards the Continent, is perhaps the cause why it has found no imitators, save possibly to a certain extent at Milan and Burgos. Three bays of the choir were destroyed and rebuilt at the same time, and with the presbytery, which is slightly less ornate, form a magnificent series of arcades, exhibiting also the most artistic use of the favourite English material (Purbeck marble). The Lady Chapel is the rival of the somewhat later erection of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, now destroyed. It possessed what the latter did not—a stone-vaulted roof—and the series of sculptured arcades, extending round the whole building beneath the windows, is, for richness of design, extent of surface, and delicacy of execution, unrivalled in England. The octagon was commenced 1322 and finished 1342. The Lady Chapel began 1321; was completed 1349; the north-west transept, or northern wing of the west front, fell 1669.

¹ Dallaway says: "The pride of ecclesiastics among practical architects was ALAN DE WALSHAM, prior of Ely. He was neither the imitator of, nor was he imitated by, any other architect" (Discourses upon Architecture, p. 416).

I may here mention that the octagon on the western tower was built 1380, and formerly—like Lincoln, Old St Paul's, and Malmesbury—was crowned with a very lofty wooden steeple.

Most of the great parish churches (although abundant examples exist of earlier styles) were erected during this and the ensuing era. The huge church of St Nicholas—the patron saint of sailors—at Yarmouth, covers 3700 square feet, an area equal to that of many cathedrals. Boston, whose magnificent tower, 290 feet in height, is, with the exception of perhaps—and of this I am by no means sure—the Butter Tower of Rouen Cathedral, the loftiest and finest original Gothic tower in Europe (Ulm, now being completed, has up to the present been merely a fragment). This tower, ignominiously called “Boston Stump,” is believed to owe its magnificent proportions to the necessity of a sea mark to guide the sailor through the intricacies of Boston deeps, much as the fine spire of Higham Ferrers owes its restoration to the necessity for a landmark being felt by enthusiastic foxhunters. The “stump” gave rise to the following doggerel:—

“Oh, Boston, Boston,
Thou has not to boast on
But a high churh with a lofty steeple,
A proud, ignorant, and conceited people,
And a coast where ships are wrecked on.”

The superb spire of St Michael's, Coventry, 306 feet in height, the finest in England; Louth, of later date and equal altitude; Grantham, of scarcely inferior proportions but of severer majesty. The two grand churches of Lynn, the two at Bury, St Peter's Mancroft at Norwich, the University Churches at Oxford and Cambridge, St Mary in both cases, the collegiate churches of Howden in Yorkshire and Wolverhampton in Stafford, Heckington in Lincoln, Hull, Newark, Nottingham, Wrexham, with its fine tower; and the still grander tower, 200 feet high, which is all that remains of the ancient All Saints, Derby; and, perhaps, loveliest of all, the miniature cathedral of St Mary, Redcliffe. I may remark here, as showing how much local peculiarities have to do with our mediæval churches, and how little ground there is for supposing one universal consensus, that almost every district in England has its distinct architectural features. The Northern counties are a class apart; so are the Eastern counties. Northants, which boasts a very fine and complete series, from the rude Saxon of Brixworth and Barnack to the expiring Perpendicular of Aldwinkle; including Oundle, Thrapstone, Raunds, Warmington, Higham Ferrers, Rushden, and Irthingborough, showing a distinct school. A no less distinct school in Somerset, independent, apparently, of Wells and St Mary's, Redcliffe, comprising Wrington, Yatton, Banwell, Cheddar, Glastonbury, and Tamerton. Devonshire, again, and Cornwall, have their own peculiarities, not to mention numerous other districts, but taking only the most striking. Gloucestershire also had very decidedly a school of its own, leaving out of sight the fan vaulting, the results of which in the county and the neighbourhood gave rise, according to many (probably natives), to the proverb, “As sure as God's in Gloucestershire.”

Perpendicular, the last phase of English Gothic, is principally distinguished by fan vaulting—an elaborate technical or scientific contrivance which is quite peculiar to England, and seems to have originated in a school of local masons at Gloucester. The original Norman church was transformed here as at Winchester and St Albans, but by a very different process, which I cannot pause to explain; suffice it to say, that the result was equally

if not more satisfactory. The process commenced 1329, the cloisters (which, like those of Peterborough, Canterbury, and Norwich, were originally glazed with stained glass, and probably painted and gilt¹) 1377-1412, the great tower 1450-1461, and the Lady Chapel 1457-1498. The principal beauties, where all is beautiful, are the cloisters and the great east window—the largest in the world, 79 feet in height by 35 in width, as against that of York, 76 by 32. The fan vaulting, I should say, however, is confined to the cloisters, where it appeared on a comparatively small scale, as far as mere width is concerned, as was natural in a preliminary essay. It next extended to Bath Abbey Church, one of the latest, if not the latest, Gothic buildings, having been built by Oliver King, Bishop of Wells, 1535—to the small square chapel round the apse of Peterborough, erected under the Abbot Robert de Kirton; the Beauchamp Chapel at Coventry; the Divinity Schools, begun by Humphry, the “good” clerk of Gloucester; and the cathedral, Oxford, with their elaborate pendants, until it finally culminated with the three famous chapels—King’s College, Cambridge; St George’s, Windsor; and Henry VII.’s, Westminster. But Perpendicular architecture was not necessarily connected with fan vaulting; and a constant repetition of flat pannelling, with a tendency to squareness, was perhaps its most prevalent characteristic. The magnificent west front, west and central towers, and the whole of the eastern portion beyond the transept of York is of this date; and Beverley, as usual, followed suit. We have also the beautiful building called St Winifred’s Well at Holywell, in Flintshire, erected by the mother of Henry VII., and the mortuary chapel on the bridge of Wakefield; also several abbeys—notably Malvern, Cirencester, Sherborne, and Manchester—which are intact, the latter remarkable as being the only edifice in England possessing a complete set of double aisles, for the earlier example in Chichester nave is imperfect; Milton, Dorset, finer than Sherborne, but fragmentary; and Bolton, which is in ruins. Besides Bath Abbey, the three latest works of mediæval architecture are Archbishop Lichfield’s tower at Evesham; Bishop Wareham’s tomb, Canterbury, 1522; and Bishop Langland’s chapel, Lincoln, 1547. The Reformation struck the death-blow to the mediæval architecture, which had long been decaying, and might, with the monasteries, have died a natural death, had not they been both prematurely cut short. But as, in spite of repressive measures, Roman Catholicism and its priests still lingered in England, until they were once again permitted to hold up their heads, so Gothic architecture still lingered in our midst until the modern revival; and, curiously enough, the two events were almost synchronical, though I hope no reader of these pages will infer by their being here placed in juxtaposition that I seek to establish any connection between them. St Andrew’s Undershaft, Leadenhall Street, a very fine specimen, is remarkable as being the first church erected with reference to the Protestant worship; St Giles’, Cripplegate, was built 1545; Middle Temple Hall 1572. During the reigns of James and Charles I. a revival was attempted, to which we owe the staircase of the hall of Christ Church, Oxford—but whether of stone is doubtful—with its fan vaulting; Lincoln and Wadham Chapels; Lincoln’s Inn Chapel, London, the work of Inigo Jones (with also, I think, a plaster vaulting) and a good deal of Lambeth Palace. A long series of churches retaining traces, more or less, of the old style may be noticed, including the tower of St Clement Danes, in the Strand, until the dawn of the revival under Batty Langley² and Horace Walpole.

¹ See Sir T. Browne, *Antiquities of Norwich*.

² Langley seems to have regarded *Masonry* and *Freemasonry* as identical. The dedicatory prefix to his “Ancient

In Scotland the old Celtic style, with its small oratories in place of churches, and its round towers—of which one, either original or an imitation, still exists at Brechin—prevailed until the time of David I., 1124-65, who introduced the Norman style and the Catholic discipline and organisation, and who was, *teste* his successor James VI., a “sair saint for the crown.” As the aboriginal architecture was what most aboriginal architecture is, of wood or the very rudest stonework, scarcely a trace remains, and even the earliest relics at Iona, beyond the crosses, is the Norman chapel of St Oran. This Norman fashion remained in vogue for upwards of a century, although we find Pointed architecture occasionally mixed with it, when it was superseded by a modification of Early English, which continued with but little variation to the end. The arches may become in some examples wider and flatter, but there is nothing at all resembling the English Perpendicular, although we occasionally find traces of Flamboyant, which may, perhaps, be accounted for by the long connection with France. The architecture of Scotland has a style peculiarly its own. Severely archaic in its forms and small in size as are the buildings, the openings and mouldings yet display a degree of richness we should look for in vain either in England or elsewhere. The vaults, especially in the earlier examples, are singularly bold but heavy, and the whole architecture is characterised by ponderous richness.

Jedburgh, a peculiarly massive edifice, is Norman as to the greater portion, but has been a good deal restored in the fourteenth century, after the war of independence; its doorways are exquisite throughout. The same may be said of Kelso, founded 1128, and of Kilwinning, founded 1140. If it be true that the latter is the mother of Freemasonry, all that need be remarked is, that the Freemasons have most ungratefully neglected to lavish any skill upon their parent. Kirkwall, a small, but very perfect, cathedral, boasting three very fine western doorways and a stone vaulting throughout, was founded 1138, and not finished until 1540; but the remoteness of the situation precluded its being affected by the changes of fashion, and the original design has been carried out with tolerable consistency.¹ The church of Leuchars is very fine Norman, especially the apse. Paisley was founded 1163, and a considerable portion must be of that date, but it was greatly altered after having been burned by the English in 1307. It was formerly cruciform, but the nave alone remains. St Andrews was built 1163-1378; and Dalmeny is a pure Norman apsidal church. Crossraguel Abbey, near Maybole, in Ayrshire, was built about the year 1240, and is curious as being half fortress, half church (of which there are several specimens in France), a not wholly unusual construction in troubled districts. With these may be reckoned Cambuskenneth, Brechin, the small church of Corstorphine, and Coldingham, which belonged to Durham, and was the cause of the civil war in which James III. lost his life. Dunblane boasts a very fine western doorway. Aberbrothock [Arbroath] dates from 1233, and the cathedral of Aberdeen, of which the nave and two western towers yet remain, comes between 1317-1518. As in the case of the Cornish churches, the hard unworkable nature

Masonry, both in the Theory and Practice,” 1736 (already noticed at p. 77, *ante*), thus commences: “My Lords and Brethren,—The principles and practice of Ancient Masonry being the subject of the following sheets, to whom can I so justly inscribe them as to your Most Noble, Right Honourable, and Right Worshipful selves; not only with regard to your being Masters thereof, but to your great encouragement given, and honour done to the Art, as well as your most affectionate Respect manifested to every Brother of the Fraternity.”

¹ Assuming the building would cost £20,000 at the present day, this would give a regular annual expenditure of £50. The Orcadians were certainly poorer and possibly less devout than it is the fashion to suppose the people of the Middle Ages to have been.

of the granite gives a heavy appearance to the whole. Dunfermline was apparently an early structure as far as we can judge by the remains, which include those of the conventional buildings and palace. Glasgow, the largest, and fortunately the most perfect of the Scottish ecclesiastical edifices, comes next, having been built between 1233 and 1300.¹ Its length is 300 feet, and breadth 73, covering 26,400 square feet, without including the western towers, one of which has been destroyed. The height of the spire is 219 feet. The crypt may fairly be said to be without a rival in Europe, and the lancets of the east end, together with the choir bays, including the arches of the aisles, triforium, and clerestory, are peculiarly worthy of remark. New Abbey, Kirkeudbright, 1269, founded under the romantic name of Sweet Heart, to contain the heart of her husband John Baliol, by Devorgilla, daughter and heiress of Alan, last lord of Galloway, is imposing even in its ruins; and Pluscardyn Abbey, founded 1230, has an east end something like that of Byland, only more perfect; the chapter-house is somewhat of a curiosity, being a square or oblong chamber with a vault supported by a single pillar.

Dryburgh was founded 1150, but rebuilt after 1322; and the church and tower of Dundee, the finest in Scotland, between 1377-1399. St Giles, Edinburgh, is of the same period, and it may be mentioned that there is a contract, dated 1387, still in existence, between the Lord Provost and two masons, for the construction of five chapels to the south of the main edifice. This is one of the four churches having a spire supported on four flying buttresses, the others being St Nicholas, Newcastle; King's College, Aberdeen, 1494, distinguished also for fine woodwork of the choir; and Wren's St Dunstan in the east. The fifteenth century opens with Fowlis church, Forfarshire, a perfect specimen of a parish church of that age, and, with Dalmeny and others, one of the few yet remaining intact in Scotland. The remains of Dunkeld show a fine Flamboyant window, besides an episcopal tomb which is worthy to rank with most of our examples. Trinity College chapel, Edinburgh, with its beautiful vaulting and its long apsidal windows, recalling the German. The collegiate church of Crichton, 1449, and the fine abbey church of Haddington, also a very late example, not very unlike its almost contemporary the abbey church of Bath, and in a similar spirit, though with less ambition, termed the "Lantern of the Lothians." Lincluden is somewhat Flamboyant, and it possesses a fine tomb to the memory of Margaret, Countess of Douglas. St Monance, Fife, is a fine cross church, with good vaulting and a squat tower, apparently of late date. We have also the church and palace of Linlithgow, and the truly royal chapel of Holyrood, erected towards the close of this period, and now unfortunately in ruins. According to a drawing I have seen, it was perfect in the middle of the last century, even to the stalls of the knights. Possessed of aisles, and with vaulted roof, it was, although deficient in richness of decoration, in some respects more imposing from its noble simplicity than even St Stephen's or the *Sainte Chapelle*. It was finished 1440.

Elgin well deserves the eulogium passed upon it—"Patria decus regni gloria laus et exaltatio laudis in regnis extraneis."² Though not the largest, it is, of all the Scottish cathedrals, the most beautiful. The western doorway, with its eight rows of columns and mouldings, is the perfection of the Scottish style, and by far the finest work of the kind anywhere to be seen. The choir is equal to Rievaulx or Whitby. The chapter-house still remains

¹ Although by Fergusson, and I believe others, the nave has been assigned to the fourteenth century, this is only a further instance of the uncertainty of many of the dates of these early buildings, not alone in Scotland, but elsewhere, and which, in this chapter at least, are merely represented as being approximately correct.

² Reg. Moravicense, p. 204.

entire, and is, together with the north and south aisles, of Scottish Flamboyant. The east end resembles that of Ely. It was founded 1223, when the see was removed here from Spynie, but all that remains of this period is the south transept, where, although it is contemporary with Wells and Salisbury, we see the transition between the Round and Pointed styles. St Andrews, 1440-1466, must have been almost a rival to Elgin, but only the eastern and western terminations remain, together with the gorgeous tomb of Bishop Kennedy. Melrose, whose foundations date from the earliest introduction of Christianity into Scotland, and which was not only as old, if not older, than Iona itself, but was also as much a centre of light for the borders of both countries as Iona was for the Hebrides and Highlands, and Whitherne for Strathclyde or the south-west of Scotland, Cumberland, and North Lancashire, is, as it stands, of the fifteenth century. Beautiful as it undoubtedly is, and celebrated by the poetic halo cast around it, I cannot but think that its architectural merit has been overrated. Standing on the border line of the two countries, it is betwixt the two in style, and, wanting the lightness of the contemporary English examples, it fails equally in the rich yet severe grandeur of the Scottish. The choir vaulting, which, by the way, is of stone throughout, a rather uncommon circumstance in Scotland, is very elaborate, recalling that of York, which is of wood, but of much greater width. The east window is the one Perpendicular example in Scotland, very beautiful, and yet peculiar to itself, while the really best specimens of tracery are in the great windows of the transepts. The nave is much more plain and solid. Roslin, the curiosity of the whole Scottish series, is certainly unclassable as a whole, and unlike any other building in Great Britain. It is evidently the work of a foreign architect, most probably of a Spaniard, for the general character is decidedly Spanish, and we know that Sir William Sinclair¹ collected masons and artificers from all parts, but the details are, as might be expected, the work of native handcraftsmen. Hence for gorgeousness of conception, although not in execution, it rivals the very best examples either at home or abroad. It is small (68 feet \times 35), being the work of a private individual, and is further remarkable for the so to speak Cyclopean character of its masonry, being formed of solid blocks skilfully fitted together. The roof—not the vaulting only—is also of solid stone, a Celtic peculiarity, and which, though in this case not Celtic, is observed also in Provence, but the Celtic or Provençal peculiarity was probably not imitated here. The story of the apprentice and his master has been referred to the Hiramic legend current in Freemasonry (of which science or art, in Scotland, the hereditary Grand Mastership has been traditionally vested in the St Clair family).² It may be so (and a similar legend is current concerning a pillar at Strassburg), but it is just as likely to have had its origin in fact in both cases, especially at Roslin, where Spanish vindictiveness and Scottish lawlessness probably met on common ground.

Two churches built in more modern times deserve a passing notice—Dairsie, built 1621, at the time of the attempted revival by Archbishop Spottiswoode, and Michael Kirk, Elgin, which would deserve to be called an excellent imitation had it not been worthier of higher praise, for it has thoroughly caught the spirit of mediæval architecture, a fact the more extraordinary when we consider the date of its erection, *i.e.*, 1705.

¹ Otherwise "St Clair," "Saint Clair," and "Sinkler" (see Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 63; and Laurie, History of Freemasonry, 1804, p. 103).

² The connection of the St Clairs of Roslin with the later Freemasons will be fully considered in a subsequent chapter.

The main characteristic of French Gothic, especially as distinguished from that of England, is its great height, which, save in a few instances, dwarfed the towers and rendered the whole mass lumpy. The great height of the roof rendered the building of towers of sufficient importance to stand out from the mass of the church, as in England, a matter of the greatest difficulty and almost impossibility. Laon is, however, an exception, with its five towers; and Chartres was intended to be so with six; but the central tower of Beauvais, 480 feet in height, fell within five years of its completion. Some of the Flèches, however, at the intersection are very lofty—that of Amiens surpasses Salisbury, and that of Notre Dame, though of inferior altitude, is of great height. The width of the vaulting, and the consequently increased importance of the flying buttresses, especially when, striding, as it were, over double aisles, together with pinnacles acting as counterpoises, caused the exterior supports to become, under judicious management, very magnificent. The apsidal terminations are, as I have before said, almost universal in France, as well as among the Norman buildings in England; but after the Norman period they are never seen in our country, save at Westminster and Lichfield, the square east end being universal, except in the two instances of Durham and Fountains, where the eastern termination expands into a kind of transept. Eastern subsidiary chapels—as at Winchester, Wells, Salisbury, and Exeter—are also common, but do not alter the interior view looking east. The relative advantages of the two plans must always remain a matter of taste; but none can deny the magnificence of such vast walls of stained glass as those of York, Gloucester, and Carlisle, or even of an aggregate of lancets such as Ely.

The origin of the square east end is more difficult of solution. The Celts, indeed, had an absolute horror of an apse; but we cannot suppose a Celtic prejudice to have cropped up after the lapse of so many centuries. Ireland was conquered about the time the square east ends began to come in, but it is scarcely likely to have been imported from thence. Did it come from the Cistercians, who began to flourish in England at about the same time, and who, as an almost invariable rule, used square terminations, Fountains being one of their earliest essays? Perhaps so; but why did the fashion spread in England more than abroad? Possibly from the fact that the great height, as compared with the length, would have rendered the interior of the foreign cathedrals unsightly, as appearing to be cut short off. On the other hand, space or size was attained in England by increased length; for the apparently inferior structural skill of the English precluded their employing the double aisles and vast altitude which we so much admire in foreign churches. This difference in altitude has, however, been somewhat exaggerated, owing to reference being usually made to one or two examples only. Beauvais, an exaggerated *tour de force*, reaches the enormous height of 163 feet to the crown of the vaulting; and Amiens and Cologne are 150 feet respectively. Almost all the other great examples range from 100 to 120 feet. The two loftiest in England are Westminster, 101 feet; York, 99 feet;—the nave of Old St Paul's was 102—the remainder range from 67 to 80 feet. Another very striking difference is in the windows. The apse precluded the use of the gigantic walls of glass we see in York and Gloucester; nor do the lofty lancets of York and Ely ever seem to have found favour abroad; while, on the other hand, the great windows of the German aisleless apses had naturally no counterpart with us, save in the one example of Lichfield. Rose windows are very rare in England; we have two in Westminster; one at York, Lincoln, Lichfield, Chichester, and the ruins of Byland—all that at present occur to me,—and even the largest of these, York, 27 feet, was

very inferior to the great examples abroad. That of Chartres is 39 feet across the openings and 44 feet 6 inches across the outer diameter; and others, I believe, are even larger. The outer diameter of the upper or rose portion of the great east window of Old St Paul's was 40 feet or thereabouts, to judge from the width of the central aisle, as given in Dugdale's plan. This difference arises from the inferior width of our buildings. Foreign examples, especially the French, possess greater magnificence in their west fronts, although comparatively few of them are finished, and this may, to some extent, arise from the necessity of western towers acting as supports to the lofty mass of walling; indeed this structural necessity may possibly have conduced in some degree to the prevalence of the apsidal termination. The loftiest of our façades, without towers, is the east end of York, which, without the pinnacles, reaches a height of between 90 and 100 feet, but a similar façade abroad would, in many cases, reach to 130, and in some instances to 150 or 160 feet, without including the thrust of a roof loftier because wider than our own, and which would necessitate some counterpoise, such as an apse pressing the reverse way to keep the extremely lofty walls in their places. This was accomplished by great towers to the west and the apse in the east, the intermediate transept acting both ways.

Another striking feature, in French churches at least—for the Germans kept their openings within due bounds—are the vast cavernous doorways with their apparently interminable rows of sculptured figures one behind the other. These, though proper enough to raise the gaping wonder of the ignorant, are, I opine, no true sources of beauty, being at once monotonous and disproportionate. They were never attempted in England, save in an English version at Westminster (which will show on examination how completely the architect, even while imitating French fashions, was unable to free himself from his native traditions), and these, I do not think, are altogether a success. There is a very lovely door with one row of figures at Rochester, and a larger, but ruined, example at Evesham; also the curious but beautiful doorway in the cloisters at Norwich, where the statues are placed *on* and *across* the mouldings instead of *forming* them. Statues are also found in the jambs (pilasters) of the doorways of the west front of Lichfield, and the presbytery of Lincoln. The ordinary plan consisted simply of enriched mouldings, of which the best examples may be seen at York west front, and south transept doorways, Ely, in the Galilee, Lichfield, south transept, and, above all, at Elgin; but even these fall short of what might have been expected from the descendants of the Norman examples. The double aisles—of which but one perfect (Manchester) and one imperfect (Chichester) exist in England, and which, I may remark, are by no means so common abroad as is generally supposed—are clearly not productive of additional internal beauty, even if they do not impair it, as any one may see for himself who examines carefully the great continental examples; and the same may be thought of the glazed triforium, of which no single example exists in England. But whatever may be said of the imposing height of foreign examples, our own furnish internally far more true architectural beauties, and they make up for their want of height by the extreme beauty and elaboration of their vaulting and tracery, and the delicate beauty of the triforium, the whole often, nay, generally enriched with shafts of polished marble. I may also add that the height of continental spires, as well as the size of continental churches, as compared with our own has been much exaggerated. Only three spires throughout the Continent—Strassburg, Rouen, and Vienna—greatly surpass Salisbury; and Lincoln and Old St Paul's, both of about 530 feet, excelled them all. That of Ely also was of great height, but it must be remembered that these three were of wood,

which, however, was also the case with that of, I believe, a later date at Rouen, which, having been burned, has been replaced by one of iron of an inferior altitude. We cannot fairly put against these examples Cologne, which has only just been completed; Ulm, which is being so; or Louvain, Malines, and Mons, which will, in all probability, never be completed at all.

In size also our own are equal to those on the Continent, taking a similar number on a similar area, for it must never be forgotten that the district occupied by Gothic architecture abroad, including France, Germany, the Low Countries, Spain, Portugal, and North Italy, is at least ten times greater than the similar ground in Great Britain, and that France alone, contains even now eighty Gothic cathedrals as against twenty in England—without including nine which were formerly abbeys. Further, not to trouble ourselves with lesser examples, we have lost totally, or possess only in fragments, from which, indeed, learned men may reproduce the originals, but which are no more present with us than the mammoth or the mastodon—Old St Paul's and Coventry Cathedrals, the latter—a more magnificent Lichfield—destroyed at the Reformation, and the abbeys of Reading, Bury, Glastonbury, Tintern, Guisborough, Walsingham, Croyland, Netley, St Mary's, York, Rievaulx, Whitby, Fountains, Malmsbury, besides Abingdon, of which no trace remains save that it is said to have rivalled Wells, and Evesham, every vestige of which is absolutely lost, for the statement that it possessed 140 marble columns, *i.e.*, shafts—tells us nothing. Also the superb chapel of St Stephen's, Westminster, the rival of the *Sainte Chapelle*. What Tavistock, Battle, St Augustine's, Canterbury, and St John's, Clerkenwell, were like we can form but little idea, but St Augustine's, at any rate, seems to have been inferior. Another advantage enjoyed by the English churches is, that as their comparative want of height allows the towers to stand out more prominently, so their comparative want of width causes the transepts to do the same in a different line, thus giving greater play of light and shade, and greater variety to the building, a variety which is occasionally increased by the use of double transepts, either at the extreme east end, as at Durham and Fountains, or half-way between the greater transept and the east end, as at Canterbury, Salisbury, Worcester, Lincoln, and Wells, and, in a lesser degree, at York and Beverley. The stone carving of certain portions of the porches and façades, and what may be termed the furniture of the churches, such as choir and altar screens, choir stalls, shrines, etc., is, in spite of some splendid examples to the contrary, more ornate abroad than with us, though even here I do not know whether we could not show an equal number comparatively with the area.

The three exigencies or characteristics of Gothic architecture have been defined as stone vaulting, glass walls, and as much interior space unencumbered by supports, *i.e.*, by walls and pillars, as possible. I should be inclined to add height. As to the first of these the continental nations are, to a considerable extent, our superiors as they are with regard to the last, hence, considering the constructive skill here displayed, as well as the, to a certain extent, greater elaborateness of the carving, I am disposed to think that the masonic art was further advanced abroad than with us. As regards the second, we are slightly superior. As to the third, we are greatly ahead. The proportion of supports to clear space is in Bourges as one to five, Chartres, one to eight, Paris, ditto, St Ouen, one of the lightest, one to ten. Our best English examples are about the same as St Ouen. Ulm is much superior to any. Hence the height and weight of the vaulting obliged the use of more massive supports, and detracts from foreign constructive skill. In our favour, or perhaps against us, as setting off our buildings to greater advantage, may be named the beautiful closes in which our cathedrals are

embowered, instead of being crowded in the busy streets of a great town. Our strictly domestic buildings of this period are, and apparently always have been, greatly inferior to those abroad, but the conventional remains, whatever the others may have been, are far their superiors, and, of these, Fountains presents the most perfect example. I may add that our series of halls, whether perfect or in ruins, whether belonging to abbey, castle, or palace, are, I believe, unrivalled elsewhere. Westminster Hall certainly is, but that of the Old Palace at Paris was apparently of equal size, according to the plan in the "Dictionnaire Raisonné" of Viollet le Duc.

The mediaeval castles and other fortifications were probably the work of skilled military engineers, and I have a shrewd suspicion that soldiering was much more of a profession than is usually supposed. Even Richard Cœur de Lion—usually supposed to be the very embodiment of knight errantry—showed consummate skill, both as a strategist and military engineer, in the lines which he drew across the Seine, and by which he foiled even so skilful an opponent as Philip Augustus. He probably had a chief of the staff, as in the German armies. The castles both in England and abroad were erected on scientific principles well known and regularly applied. The old system lasted to the time of Duguesclin, the Vauban of his day, who elaborated a regular system of attacking and carrying them, to counteract which he invented a new system of defence, whereby, instead of enclosing a large space with walls, having a keep within, the buildings were more or less concentrated in one lofty mass—a plan which reached its culminating point in Pierrefonds, restored by the late Emperor of the French,—and the same system seems to have been imported into England. One of the most curious of our castles, though far from being the most picturesque and striking, is Beaumaris, erected, as its name implies, in the midst of a marsh, by Edward I.; and being therefore unhampered by the exigencies of the site, the engineer was enabled to display the whole of his art, pure and simple, as in the older fortresses of Flanders, and it embodies, probably, the whole of the great and varied military experience of its founder. It is a square enclosed within a hexagon, and both defended by moats and round towers, each portion being most perfectly flanked, and commanded by the others. It is of great size, for the inner quadrangle is a square of 190 feet. Edward I. also erected the town of Beaumaris, as well as Carnarvon, Winchelsea—which was his Portsmouth (though the sea has far receded, and there are no traces of any works), and a town in the south of France, whose name I have not at present by me. All these towns were fortified and laid out in regular chequer work—as can be abundantly seen at the present day—like an American city. The architect of Conway and Carnarvon, and probably of Beaumaris, was Henry de Elreton—at least, that is the name appearing in connection with it, and local workmen were probably employed, for there still exist the claims of local stonemasons at Carnarvon for work done. It is impossible to define the actual status of De Elreton; but nothing in the architectural magnificence of Carnarvon militates against the idea of his having been a military engineer. The great northern gate of the fortress of the Verne Isle of Portland is a worthy rival of the magnificent King's Gate, Carnarvon. While on this point, I may briefly allude to a statement often seen, to the effect that William Rede, Bishop of Chichester, who is said to have been the first mathematician of his age, displayed his art in building his castle of Amberley. I certainly did not know that a knowledge of abstract mathematics was necessary to the study of fortification, although it may be to the science of gunnery. Moreover, the profound science displayed by Rede at Amberley consisted in dovetailing, as it were, the towers into

the walls, thereby providing small keeps not unlike the retrenched or “cut off” bastions sometimes seen in modern works, but being, unlike them, nearly flush with the wall, did away with the flanking defences, thus providing facilities for the admission of the enemy, and supplying means for further resistance when he was in. I shall not dispute the worthy bishop’s mathematical skill, nor, after the above display of his military proficiency, that he was the architect and engineer of his own castle.

Of domestic architecture even less need be said; it flourished chiefly (beyond Italy), as might be expected, in Flanders¹ and one or two of the commercial cities of Germany—as Augsburg and Nuremberg,—and there are two very fine examples in France in the Palais de Justice, Rouen, and the Hotel Clugny, the town-house of the Abbots of Clugny, Paris. The English specimens are inferior, unless we except the monastic buildings, which would rather come under church architecture, and the unrivalled series of halls, either standing or in ruins, of which the two finest are Westminster and the almost rebuilt Guildhall. My impression is that, speaking generally, the Masonic bodies had little or nothing to do with military works, save in a very humble capacity; and that, while they doubtless built the town-halls—for we cannot conceive two distinct bodies of the same trade working systematically apart,—yet that some, doubtless, adhered much more to one class of work than the other, and we can easily see that much more scientific skill was requisite for the construction of the vaulted cathedrals and abbeys than for town-halls, however beautiful, and whose interior, how gorgeous soever the exterior, was generally simplicity itself. The best work on mediæval fortification, not only in France, but for the subject generally, is the architectural dictionary of M. Viollet le Duc, whose work is, further, invaluable for all classes of French architecture in the Middle Ages.²

Bridges, where we should most of all have expected to find civil and even military engineers, seem, oddly enough, to have been the peculiar province of the monks or priests. For these bridges, or at least many of them, may be not merely vaguely but literally ascribed to them, nor will it be an unreasonable supposition to suppose that the ecclesiastical masons were employed under their direction.³ Although Mackey, in his “Cyclopædia,” speaks of the bridge builders of the Middle Ages as a *masonie* association, and quotes from German and French writers the names of the *Brückenbrüder* and *les Frères Pontifes* to establish his position, I shall only make a passing allusion to the brotherhood of St Benezet. According to Mr Wright,⁴ “the Comte H. Grégoire, who gave up his bishopric of Blois to take part in the events of the great Revolution, published at Paris, in a small pamphlet of seventy-two pages (1818), the result of somewhat extensive researches on the history of the *frères pontificales*, under the title, ‘Recherches historiques sur les congrégations hospitalières des

¹ Where the little known Ypres is much the finest example. I have heard it said that the architect of Ypres was a man, but that whoever built Louvain was a woman, who had been dreaming of lace.

² There is absolutely no English work worthy the name on military architecture, but there is a very good one by Hudson Turner (commonly called Parker’s) on domestic buildings.

³ This was not always the case. The word “supervisor” appears in a statement relative to the erection of a bridge at Hereford, November 1135, when Alduisie de Malverne held the office. It certainly did not do so in later times; for we find an agreement for building Catterich Bridge “by Thomas Ampliforde, John Garrett, and Robert Maunsell, *masons* (*sic!*), 1412-2. This was to be made sufficient, and workmanly in mason craft” for 260 marks (£173, 6s. 8d.)—Proc. R. I. Brit. Arch., 2d Dec. 1861 (Wyatt Papworth).

⁴ T. Wright, Essays on Archaeological Subjects, 1861, vol. ii., pp. 137, 140.

frères pontifes." This work, which is not to be met with in the library of the British Museum, I have been unable to consult, but the following allusion to its contents, by Mr Wyatt Papworth, will be sufficient for our purpose: "There is yet another designation," says this excellent authority, "upon which much has been written, namely, the 'Frates Pontis,' a brotherhood that, more especially in France, is said to have been founded for the express purpose of travelling far and wide to build bridges. Even as regards that country, I have only found a notice of such a troop having been formed at the building of the bridge at Avignon, and of that of St Esprit, over the Rhone, during the twelfth and fourteenth centuries (1178-88 and 1265-1369). Not much surprise will, therefore, be felt when it is stated, as regards England, that amongst the numerous references in my notes concerning bridge building especially, no intimation of any such institution appears; or that M. Grégoire, in his history of this brotherhood, could only refer to the bridge over the Dee and another over the Eden, and for those on the authority of the 'Annual Register' for 1808."¹

Bridge building was always considered a charitable work. It formed part of the shadowy *trinoda necessitas*, and hence may have come to being considered as the peculiar province of the clergy. One of the three clerical Spanish architects enumerated by Street in his "Notes on Spain," is the monk El Parral, who restored the Roman Aqueduct at Segovia. One of the earliest passages, in which mention is made of a bridge in England, is in a charter A.D. 943, in which there is a reference to the bridge at Croyland (obviously not the one now existing), but it is not known whether it was of stone or wood. That a bridge existed there at that early period is further attested by a statue of one of the Saxon kings, probably Ethelbald, which has been metamorphosed by the country people into a statue of Cromwell (who came from the eastern counties)—and who, with a certain class is a kind of lay saint—holding a penny loaf. The present structure is of much later date, and is triangular, which is its chief merit, for it is very small. The stream must always have been insignificant, and the sides are so steep as to render it almost useless. It could never have been much more than a *tour de force* like the Pont le Pareil, near Calais. St Swithun built a stone bridge over the Itchen, which, judging from the present size of the river, must have been small, though it is quite possible that at that time the stream was considerably larger. As he "had necessarily to go abroad upon spiritual matters, he cared in this case, as always, for the common advantage of the townspeople, and built a bridge of stone arches at the east gate of the city, a work which will not easily decay."² These bridges were rather a long low series of culverts or stone embankments pierced with small openings. In the same way the Romans, with all their engineering skill, were not remarkable for the boldness of their bridge openings; and their bridges were often, especially where width of span was requisite, but little more than brick or masonry piers with timber superstructures, as in the great bridge thrown over the Danube by Trajan.

After the Conquest, one of the earliest examples we have any account of is the bridge built over the Lea, at Bow, by Maud, Queen of Henry I., after, to use Stowes' expression, "she had been well washed in the river," and several of her attendants drowned. This was between

¹ Transactions, R. I. Brit. Arch., 1861-62.

² Unde factum est, ut necessitate exigente de spiritualibus ad forinsecas exiens utilitati communis civium sicut semper et aliquando provideret, pontemque ad orientalem portam civitatis arcibus lapideis opere non leviter ruituro construeret (MS. Life of St Swithun, Arundel MS., British Museum. Probably of the eleventh century).

1100-1118. Stowe further tells us that the "bridge of Stratford le Bow was arched like a bow, a rare piece of work, for before that the like had never been seen in England." This phrase, if it means anything, probably signifies that it was a real arched bridge, and not a mere series of culverts. It was at first well endowed, but fell into decay, until one Hugh Pratt managed by begging, or rather soliciting contributions, to keep it in repair, and his son was allowed to levy tolls, amongst which was 8d. for a dead Jew, there being a Jews' cemetery on the Essex side. This bridge existed until quite lately, and there still remains a bridge of three fine Norman arches at Kirkby Lonsdale, over the Lune, and a very curious and ancient bridge at Prudhoe, in Northumberland. Next in chronological order comes the most celebrated and perhaps the greatest of this class of building in the Middle Ages, namely Old London Bridge, which was built by Peter, rector of St Mary Colechurch, in the Poultry, between the years 1176-1209—Peter having died in the interim. This was remarkable, not only for its length, in which, however, it was exceeded by several, but from the fact of its having been built in the deep bed of a tidal river, possibly with a stronger current than at present, as well as for having been, probably on this account, built on a timber floor protected by piles and rubble work. This is the more noteworthy, as not only was the use of piled foundations generally ignored at that early period, but it continued to be so even down to so late a date as the construction of the first Westminster Bridge—considered a masterpiece at its time, the foundations of whose piers were not carried down below the bed of the river, where they rested on a timber floor laid on the bottom, and protected only by sheet piling, which inferior method of construction caused its demolition within a century of its foundation, whereas Old London Bridge stood for six hundred years. But it must not be forgotten that Old London Bridge was constantly undergoing extensive repairs, such as rebuildings of the parts swept away occasionally by floods, while Westminster Bridge finally succumbed to the increased scour caused by the removal of its rival, which during its existence had its piers protected to such an extent by piling and starlings, as to have in process of time almost blocked up the waterway. Still the effects of the increased scour on Westminster might have been obviated had the foundations been originally laid on proper principles. The mode of securing those of Old London Bridge was then very rare, the usual plan having been to throw in loose rubble, on which the piers were founded, and the same was afterwards thrown down round them, forming what is technically termed an apron. The former is an approximation to the true method of building on piles driven deep into the bed of the river, which, however, was only introduced by the engineer of Southwark and Waterloo Bridges. One of the finest of the mediæval bridges was that built over the Trent, at Burton, by Abbot Bernard, having a length of 1545 feet; and next to this comes that at Wade, in Cornwall, over the river Camel, built in 1485 by the vicar of Egloshayle, who not only designed it, but actually worked on the structure with his own hands. Like Old London Bridge, it is traditionally stated to have been founded on woolpacks, which tradition arose from a tax of wool having in both cases been granted to defray the expenses of the fabric. The Ouse Bridge at York consisted of five arches, the centre being of 81 feet span and 51 feet in height; it was replaced not many years ago by the present structure; but one of 100 feet span still, I believe, exists at Durham, having outlived a modern attempt at enlargement. Sir R. Knolles, a soldier of fortune, *temp* Edward III., rebuilt the bridge at Rochester, the destruction of whose piers not many years ago caused an infinity of trouble to the Royal Engineers from Chatham. To these

may be added the Bishop Bridge, built of stone and flint, after the Norfolk fashion, at Norwich, over the Wensum; the bridge over the Taw at Umberleigh, North Devon, erected by John of Gaunt, lord of the manor there, and which has withstood the floods of the Taw for five hundred years; and the curious bridge over the Lark at Bury St Edmonds, which is formed by the wall of the abbey enclosure being carried over the stream on arches, strengthened on the lower side by wide buttresses reaching almost to the top of the wall, which buttresses have doorways cut through them, so that planks, forming a foot-bridge, can be laid from the one to the other. Sometimes chantries were erected on the bridges, and the money received there was often applied to the bridge maintenance. The most beautiful of these still exists at Wakefield, having been built for the celebration of masses for the souls of those slain in the battle there. The bridge itself is of nine arches, and is, I believe, the same as that described by Leland. That on London Bridge, dedicated to St Thomas-à-Becket, and in which Peter of Colechurch lies buried, must also have been a specimen of remarkable beauty, and, judging from the drawings that remain, not unlike the Sainte Chapelle at Paris. At Droitwich the bridge chapel had a singular arrangement, whereby the priest was on one side and the congregation on the other. Fortified gates were not unfrequently placed in the centre of a bridge—as at Monmouth, Gloucester, the Welsh Gate at Shrewsbury, and the famous Bothwell Bridge, in Scotland, the scene of the defeat of the Covenanters.

These early bridges were kept in repair by various methods. In 1489, John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, published a remission from purgatory for forty days to all who should contribute to the repair of Rochester Bridge, it having become very much broken.¹ The parson of Egloshayle left £20 a year towards the repair of his creation at Wade. The rents of the houses on London Bridge were relied on for the maintenance of the fabric. Bow Bridge was endowed, and as these endowments, for some cause or another, proved insufficient, collections were made, and in other instances tolls were authorised. In Scotland, Dumfries Bridge was built by Devorgilla, heiress of Alan, last Lord of Galloway, and who also built Sweet Heart Monastery in memory of her husband, John Baliol of Barnard Castle (*ob.* 1269); and at a later date, Milne, master mason of James VI, built a bridge over the Tay at Perth, which was destroyed in a spate, also others which proved more successful. His father was the founder of the family, and being an Aberdeen man, erected some of the principal churches and towers there. The family have always continued in the profession—Robert Mylne,² the lineal descendant of the founder, was the engineer of Old Blackfriars, and his grandson is in the profession at this day.

The masonry and construction of the arches of these old bridges was almost always extremely good. That of Old London Bridge consisted of very massive stonework, whose stones were of great comparative size, as may be seen by the numerous and very accurate drawings made at the time of the demolition. Hence the arches themselves have generally stood; but the pitch and narrowness of the roadway, added to the obstruction they afforded to the small span of their arches to the current, have caused the removal of by far the greater

¹ See p. 177, *ante*.

² An article in the "Dictionary of Architecture" (Architectural Publication Society) under the title *Mylne*, thus concludes: "This terminates the notices of eleven generations of a family all following the same profession, which is still continued by Robert Mylne, F.R.S." (see also Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, pp. 55, 92-95).

number. Their imperfect foundations were not so great a bar to their stability as might at first be imagined, for they were seldom built over wide or deep currents, piled bridges, like the Battersea and Putney, of much later date, being generally resorted to in such cases, and sometimes ferries. Moreover, the very obstruction to the stream supplied a counterpoise, by causing an accumulation of stones, sand, and mud above the bridge, which acted as a kind of breakwater. Occasionally an extra flood would make a way for itself, and short work of the obstruction, by sweeping away the breakwater and part of the parent bridge together, when the latter was repaired on the old principle on the first available opportunity.

As to other engineering works, they scarcely existed; the Roman dykes around the Wash and elsewhere had been allowed to fall into decay; beacons held the place of lighthouses, save in one or two instances, such as St Catherine's, Isle of Wight, which was in the charge of priests, and the Ypres Tower, Rye. The first lighthouse on the Spurn was erected by a hermit, the same class of persons who erected the chapel at Morecambe Bay; and the Abbot of Aberbrothoek put up the celebrated bell on the Incheape or Bell Rock, where the lighthouse now stands. I may remark that our practical ancestors considered all engineering works, being the means of saving life and improving the condition of men, as coming under the denomination of works of piety, hence probably their connection with the clergy. The only regular artificial harbour that I know of was that of Hartlepool, constructed in the time of the Plantagenets, and which, with its fortifications, was, unfortunately, unavoidably destroyed during the improvements some years back, and even this consisted of walls surrounding the inner harbour, and jutting into the water on either side, so as partially to close the mouth. The Cobb, at Lyme, 1100 feet long and 35 wide, said by Macaulay to date from the Plantagenets, in reality dates only from the Tudors, as did the first rude works at Dover. There is no trace or record of Winchelsea, but at Bristol the ships lay in the mud till a very late period,¹ and even the great emporium of Bruges had no other harbour than the natural creek of Damme, now filled up—at least the most careful search has failed to discover any trace of artificial works.

I have now shown, as clearly and as concisely as I can, without the aid of drawings—and even these are not always intelligible to the untrained eye—that the idea of an universal body of men working with one impulse and after one set fashion, at the instigation of a cosmopolitan body acting under a central direction which has been very generally believed in, is a myth, and that the German origin sometimes claimed for both our mediæval masons and their works is little less so. I must now proceed to show who were the men who erected the great buildings just described; for great and wonderful they undoubtedly were, as well as the various methods by which they worked. And in doing so, we shall, I fancy, meet with further proofs of the independent and local character of the artificers, as well as of their having proceeded on very thorough business principles, which the gathering mists of antiquity have gradually obscured and caused to become, to a certain extent, both mystical and mythical. In the first place, it may be as well to dispel as far as possible the exaggerated notions current concerning the piety and devotion, or, as some would prefer to call it, the extravagance and superstition of the Middle Ages, and the enormous cost and sacrifices required for the erection of mediæval ecclesiastical structures. The history of the Christian Church, at least in Western

¹ This lying on the mud caused the sides of the vessels to swell, and hence the name of "Bristol hogges." formerly applied to the merchantmen of that port.

Europe, is one long series of alternate donation and spoliation. The Church acquired her property in precisely the same way that any modern hospital does—by donation, testamentary and otherwise, and by subscription. She combined the methods of instruction of both the Church of England and the Dissenting bodies; she joined, in like manner, the two methods of raising the necessary funds; like the Church of England she procured endowments which naturally took the shape of lands; and, by her first fruits and offerings, she covered the ground occupied by dissenters in their weekly and quarterly payments.¹ We have seen that the great impulse to church building in all probability owed its origin to the requirements of a nascent civilisation, as in our own country in our own time for an increasing population, and we shall find that much the same means were taken to provide the funds. It is quite possible that instances of exaggerated fervour, such as is occasionally related by chroniclers, of entire populations turning out to carry materials and assist in placing them, sometimes occurred, though probably even then they were highly coloured, but it is equally certain that such instances were rare. Something similar may occasionally be met with in remote districts at the present day, while, however unromantic it may sound, many churches were built by *quasi* joint stock companies, who ran up a church in a likely neighbourhood, put in a priest, a monk if possible, because he worked cheaper, and paid themselves dividends out of the offerings, for the tithes almost invariably went to the old church. The older canons and councils are full of enactments against this practice. As a rule the usual methods were adopted for raising the requisite sums. Thus the chapter at Salisbury set apart a considerable portion of their income to the building of their cathedral, besides sending round regular agents to collect subscriptions. Similarly in our day the dean and canons of Ely for some time set apart a regular proportion of their income for the restoration of their cathedral, besides soliciting subscriptions; and the works at Westminster Abbey are carried on by means of a fund specially devoted to that purpose. Canterbury owes doubtless a great deal to the shrine of St Thomas; and York was principally indebted to the archbishops Walter Grey, John le Roman, Greenfield, Melton, Scrope, Thoresby, and Bowett, and the noble families of Percy, Scrope, and Vavasor, for the funds available for the use of the fabric were by no means large, and were, moreover, fluctuating, although there were one or two estates regularly set apart for the purpose, especially the tithes of Topcliffe; the income derived from them was inconsiderable, but it was occasionally supplemented from other sources—from the penancers and brief bearers, the mortuaries, legacies, and alms, the whole of which amounted to a considerable sum, *e.g.*—On 15th May 1368 Rich. de Richmond and the other execs. of Wm. fil. Henrici fil. Henrici, rector de Romaldkirk, paid to the chapter 80 marks, which the testator had left to the fabric; and somewhat earlier, in the commencement of the century, Sir Peter de Manley was fined 100 marks for adultery, which was given to the minster fabric. Something similar was the case of a great lady, Lady Alice Lacy, who, 1270, gave a very large sum, £3754, to Westminster Abbey, for the privilege of managing her son's estates during his minority (11 years);² and another dame gave all

¹ Tithes are only a very similar toll, legalised by long prescription, yet at one time considered of inferior value to offerings.

² In 1246, £2591, due from a Jew's widow to the king, was given to Westminster Abbey; also £2000, extracted with some difficulty from the citizens of London, and a fair of fifteen days, was granted to the Abbot about the same time, probably for the same purpose.



FIFTH BOROUGH OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.
GRAND MASTERS OF DERBYSHIRE

Printed for the Author.

the stone requisite for Salisbury—*i.e.*, I imagine, the free run of a quarry for 20 years—with what object is not stated. Indulgences were often granted to those who contributed to the work; and the magnificent south-western tower of Rouen cathedral goes, as is well known, by the name of the Butter Tower, from having been built with the money paid by those who desired to eat butter during Lent. Sometimes an indulgence was granted by the Pope himself where the influence was strong, as was the case with Cologne, and another and equally efficacious method was to obtain the canonisation of some member of their church or other person buried within its precincts, and even where this could not be effected, the possession of the tomb of a popular character answered the purpose just as well, as was the case with the tomb of Edward II. at Gloucester, the removal of whose body from Berkeley Castle does the abbot's foresight and sagacity the greatest credit.

Nor was the expense of these buildings so great as would at first sight appear. One of the most eminent of our engineers—one, too, who never exceeded an estimate—once amused himself towards the commencement of the present century by making an estimate for Lincoln, with which, from his constant employment on the Fen drainage works, he was well acquainted. The result of his investigations, which he carried out with some care, was, that he would take the contract (the only right way of looking at it) for about £1,000,000 present money, presuming that he had only the same means of transport and the same mechanical appliances that were available in the Middle Ages; but that, if he had those actually open to him, he would take it for considerably less. At this rate it could have been built for £7000 a year present money. York, presumably rather more costly, but which lasted much longer, would have cost less. On the other extremity of the scale we know the estimated cost of the comparatively small projected cathedral at Truro, that at Edinburgh, the nave of Bristol, the spire of Chichester, and the rebuilding of the great parish church at Doncaster, so that we can form a pretty fair estimate of the actual cost of Gothic buildings—and we must remember that restoration is often more expensive than actual rebuilding. While on the subject, I may mention that the famous tower of Boston did not receive at the time of its foundation more than three donations of £5 a piece, of which the parson gave one, and probably, as I have said before, owed the money necessary for its majestic proportions to the fact that those proportions served the purposes of a sea mark. I need not quote the numerous instances of the cost of various churches or portions of churches with which our books abound, neither shall I trouble my readers with any of the accounts of workmen's wages, etc., inasmuch as they really tell us but little, for we do not know the purchasing power of money, *i.e.*, the real value. On the whole we may compute the expenditure of the 9000 parish churches or thereabouts, existing at the Reformation, at between £50,000,000 and £60,000,000 present value, taking the modern average cost of a church, and that of the cathedrals 20 in number, at from £6,000,000 to £7,000,000,—a total of about £65,000,000, spread over a period of more than 400 years. The amount (approximate, but pretty closely calculated) spent on church—not chapel—building, restoration, and enlargement has, since 1818, when people first began to move in these things, amounted to £50,000,000, of which £1,000,000 has gone to cathedrals. Putting schools in the place of abbeys will allow of a still further comparison. The amount spent upon church school buildings has been £8,000,000. At the Reformation there were 645 monasteries, 90 colleges, 2374 chantries, and 110 hospitals, or without the chantries 845. Could they have been built on an average for £10,000 a piece? I

think not, although the really costly and magnificent buildings were much fewer in number than are usually supposed. Their aggregate revenue, though very different estimates have been made, amounted at that time to about £150,000 a year, which, from various calculations, has been proved equal to £5,000,000 at the present day, or at least the rent roll of the estates would now amount to that sum. The income of the clergy during the past fifty years has increased by about £1,000,000 per annum from various sources (principally, however, the savings of the ecclesiastical commission), and the endowed charities (including schools), almost all of which owe their origin to within the last 300 years, to about as much more. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the above figures by no means represent all the sums that have been poured into the lap of the Church within the last half century.

As we are here on the subject of abbeys I may as well say that they were the great means of civilisation adopted during a certain period. They did not flourish in such numbers before, and towards the end of the period they decayed so that the Reformation found the numbers of monks and nuns in the several establishments much diminished, as it was in France before the Revolution. The dissolution had been broached more than once before the Reformation, notably under Henry V. The account of their vast wealth both before the Conquest and after, as given by Knyghton and others, is evidently a ridiculous exaggeration. There were not more than 120 abbeys at the end of the Saxon domination; indeed, some authorities restrict their number to 70. The estates of the chapter of Winchester, presumably the richest, amounted to 17,600 acres in Hants, not to speak of other places, on a moderate calculation of the size of the hide (*Domesday*). In the same record, the lands, generally small, of 900 parish priests are given, though Archdeacon Churton supposes their total number to have been 4000. The total amount of the Church lands could not therefore have been anything like one-third of the kingdom. Similarly, a vast spoliation took place at the Conquest, and re-endowment, as always, began shortly after. We know what it was at its highest, *i.e.*, just before the Reformation, and we know that the aggregate of these lands—episcopal and capitular estates, abbey lands, and parochial glebe—would not amount, all told, after making the proper allowances, at the present day to much more than £6,000,000 a year, out of a total land rental of between £60,000,000 and £70,000,000. The abbeys were neither the seat of intense mental work, of coarse debauchery, or of unrestrained jollity; but they did much and good work even to the last. Amongst other things they were the poor-houses of the Middle Ages, their hospitia were the casual wards, and after their suppression the poor law had to be passed under Queen Elizabeth. That they did not entirely fail in their objects may be inferred from the desperate risings that were made in their favour, whereas I should be much surprised to see any rebellion in favour of boards of guardians, workhouse officials, or school boards. The abbey revenues would about pay the charges of the poor law; perhaps, properly administered, they would have sufficed for education as well.

The following is a list of abbeys, etc., founded after the death of the Conqueror, taken from Grose:—William II. (13),¹ 27; Henry I. (35), 150; Stephen (18), 138; Henry II. (28), 165; Richard I. (10), 52; John (17), 81; Henry III. (56), 211; Edward I.² (33), 106; Edward II.³

¹ Figures within parentheses denote the number of years each monarch reigned.

² First statute of Mortmain. Chantries began to be established, whereby the seculars were somewhat benefited.

³ The Knights Templars abolished.

(19), 36; Edward III.¹ (51), 48; Richard II. (22), 14; Henry IV. (14), 12; Henry V.² (9), 4; Henry VI.³ (39), 24; Henry VII. (24), some few priories, a hospital in the Savoy, and others, and one small college; Henry VIII., 5 hospitals.—Total 978. From these, to arrive at the number existing at the Reformation, must be deducted the alien priories. Chantries are not included. The hospitals and colleges were monastic foundations, and not hospitals and colleges in our sense of the word. Almshouses would better express their destination and status, as in the two still existing foundations of St Katherine's, Regent's Park, originally founded by Adela of Blois, wife of Stephen, removed to its present site when St Katherine's Docks were built; and St Cross, Winchester, founded by Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, Stephen's brother. The abbeys remained, as a rule, as they were originally built, for they could not count on the sympathy of the diocese, nor on the fines and other sources of income open to the cathedrals, nor were their abbots men of rank and wealth or holders of pluralities, as was the case with many of the bishops, though they might sometimes count on offerings given to certain shrines, or on vast landed property, as was the case at Glastonbury, with its large estates, galaxy of tombs, and hoar antiquity; St Alban's, with the shrine of the protomartyr, and the possessor also of great revenues; Chester, with the shrine of St Werburgh; Walsingham, with the miraculous image of the Virgin, and some others. Hence I cannot at present enumerate much more than a dozen which received any material addition to their buildings after the date of their first foundation. It will be seen further on that these considerations are of some importance.

But who were the men who built these edifices? An amazing genealogy has been occasionally traced for them, but the only one for which any rational ground can be assumed is that of the Roman Collegia. These Collegia were certainly introduced into England, as is witnessed by the famous Chichester inscription (which, as already observed, does not refer unequivocally to builders), even if the fact had not been certain from the nature of things, and because of this, added to a few vague traditions and certain loose expressions in panegyrists, and other late and unsatisfactory writers, it is sought to establish a great school of masons in this country, from whom the mediæval operative masons, and subsequently the modern Freemasons, can trace a direct descent. But, in the first place, it is very doubtful how far the British element, which is supposed to have carried on the Collegia until they reappeared in the Saxon form of guilds, survived the Saxon Conquest. Works of great research and ingenuity have been written on the one side and on the other, with the only apparent result of proving how irremediable and hopeless is the divergence of the learned, and what little chance there is of the question ever being satisfactorily settled,⁴ or at least until the learned condescend to lay aside their individual crotchetts, which, practically speaking, amounts to the same thing. But, even assuming a very considerable Celtic population, and great Celtic influence, so that the Collegia may be the parents of the subsequent guilds, we have no evidence that any such Collegia belonged to the building trades, but a good deal of negative evidence to the contrary. The Celts, wherever and whenever found, were emphatically not builders,—the native works in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland consisting either of mounds and earthworks, or subsequently of stonework of the rudest construction; their circular, beehive-

¹ In this reign the alien priories were first restrained.

² Alien priories seized.

³ Eton, and King's College, Cambridge, founded chiefly out of revenues of alien priories.

⁴ See *ante*, chap. i., pp. 36-46 (*Collegia*).

shaped huts of stone, which were used also to a certain extent for religious purposes, being common to the merest savages. Gildas, speaking more than forty years after the decisive battle of Mount Badon had pretty well rid the country of the first swarms of invaders, says, that the towns still lie dreary and neglected ("adhue deserta squalent"), and there is, I believe, no evidence of either Silchester or Wroxeter having been restored by the Roman-Britons after its first destruction. The discovery of British churches by Augustine proves nothing. Britain was a Roman colony for nearly 100 years after the conversion of Constantine, during which period they may have been built, and, even if that were not so, the mere fact of the existence of a few small churches of rude construction is no proof of the existence of an extensive building fraternity, with regular rules and corporations. Moreover, the Anglo-Saxons when they began to build were obliged to import workmen, and they also sent abroad when they commenced to restore. Benedict Biscop, who may be regarded as the first patron of architecture amongst them, about 674, went over to France to engage "cementarios," in order that his church at Monk Wearmouth might be built "according to the manner of the Romans, which he had always loved;" and St Wilfrid, of York, slightly later, brought over with him eminent builders and artists from Rome, Italy, France, and other countries.¹ We may, therefore, feel tolerably certain that all knowledge of the art of Roman building, and with it the Roman building corporations—though they still had Roman buildings in their midst—had long been lost, and had never been handed down to the Saxons. Guilds, however, undoubtedly existed before the Conquest, as well as among the Saxon population afterwards. Brentano mentions three, and Pike, in his "History of Crime,"² shows that the merchant guild of Dover, and the burgesses guild at Canterbury, existed at least as early as the time of the Confessor; and the various weaver guilds appear as regularly constituted, in the earliest records of the Exchequer dating not long after the compilation of "Domesday." The learned Heiniccius affirms that in Germany (which, though never a province of the Roman Empire, was much more influenced by it than is usually supposed) the guilds appeared first in the eleventh century, and considers further, that they were an imitation of, and not descendants from, the Collegia of Rome. Hence, on the whole, considering the double uncertainty of, firstly, the descent of any guild from classic institutions; and, secondly, of the chance of the building guilds in England at least having formed part of them, even if such descent existed, we must, however reluctantly, decide against the high antiquity of the masonic bodies in the British Islands. Nor do organised bodies of masons seem to have arisen—though on this point it should be observed that our present conclusions may be at any time invalidated by the production of further evidence—until long after the appearance of guilds among the other trades. The reason of this is obvious, the necessity of moving from place to place as work called them would long preclude their having associations by which the other trades were strengthened and controlled, and the essence of which, as was the case also with the Collegia, was a local habitation.³ The early masons were probably to a certain extent under

¹ See W. H. Rylands, The Legend of the Introduction of Masons into England (Masonic Magazine, April and May 1882).

² Vol. i., p. 68, *et seq.*

³ "The guild of masons differed in no essential particulars from those of the shoemakers or batters, the tailors or vintners—all had their masters and past-masters, their wardens and other officers. But though their organisation was the same, the nature of their pursuits forced one very essential distinction upon the masons, for, inasmuch as all the usual trades were local, and the exercise of them confined to the locality where the tradesman resided, the builders were,

the direction of the monks and priests for whom they worked, and it is highly probable that an ecclesiastic who had some taste for, and, what is more, some practical knowledge of, architecture, was far more common then than now, while in the more primitive countries the missionaries would have, in many cases, to assist personally in the work. This, and the naturally and necessarily migratory habits of the workmen, together with the occasional passing of styles, architects, and workmen from one country to another, will account for the myth of a cosmopolitan body working under the monks. All the legends of the Freemasons, both here and abroad, are manifestly of a late mediæval origin; and the stories of Euclid, the one mathematician of classic times known to the Middle Ages, are involved in that charming disregard of all chronology,¹ which is one of their chief characteristics. There was a strange vein of imagination in the mediæval character, witness the style of architecture, indigenous and utterly unlike anything either before or since—the institution of chivalry, the crusades, the romances, strange tales, legends, and travesties of history. Witness the legends of St Albán, of “Ewelyde,” King Pharaoh, of Virgil as a magician, and the stories of King Lud, Brutus, Troynovant, and others, for all of which no kind of foundation, or excuse for a foundation, exists.²

Yet we should greatly err if we imagine that the building fraternities, even at that early period, were invariably under the control of their employers. Hugh de Goldcliffe, who so grievously imposed upon the ambitious but unbusinesslike Abbot of St Albans, was evidently a contractor, and we may assert generally, that then as now, there were different modes of employing them. In some cases there was a regular contract, in others, the work was more or less done, all at one time, under the direction and control of the society or individuals who supplied the funds, while, in other cases, chiefly cathedrals, and perhaps some of the greater abbeys, a regular staff was kept, where employment sometimes continued from generation to generation (as is the case with those employed in the great Government powder magazines), and which bodies were increased by additional gangs or hands being taken on as occasion required. The great fundamental error, I may observe once for all, in most investigations of this nature, and which leads to countless others and to endless confusion, is too hasty a generalisation from imperfect premises, and it is by carefully avoiding this source of error that we shall be able to trace out a path for ourselves in the intricacies with which we are surrounded. The building fraternities or trades of the Middle Ages must have been in many respects like those of the present day, or rather like those of the Companionage—which seem to be their legitimate descendants, *i.e.*, as a trade society or union, and must have been essentially different from the guilds, although a masons' guild certainly existed, and still exists, in London.

on the contrary, forced to go wherever any great work was to be executed” (James Fergusson, *History of Architecture in all Countries*, 1865, vol. i, pp. 477, 478). Mr Street, however, believed the masons of Spain to have been stationary rather than nomadic (Gothic Architecture in Spain, p. 464).

¹ A manuscript note, penned some 125 years ago, on the margin of a copy of the 1723 Constitutions, preserved in the library of the Grand Lodge of England, has the following: “Witness the story of Meron [Naymus] Grecus, who was at ye building of Solomon's Temple, in the year of the world 2933, and after came into France to Charles Martel, their king, who began to reign in the year of ye world 4660. So the man was 1727 years old!” (see *ante*, pp. 97, 248).

² It may be observed, however, that the ancient Irish manuscripts undoubtedly conceal ethnic traditions pointing to an Eastern origin. Cf. The Irish version of “Neunius,” edited by Todd and Herbert, *Irish Archaeological Society*, 1848.

¹ But, at what period the masonic bodies first took form, the ceremonies and customs by which they were distinguished, are at least of much earlier origin than our oldest constitutions. The fabric rolls of York Minster, which have been published at length by Canon Raine for the Surtees Society, show that in 1355 "Orders for the Masons and Workmen" were issued. "The first and second masons who are called masters of the same, and the carpenters, shall make oath that they cause the ancient customs underwritten to be faithfully observed. In summer they are to begin to work immediately after sunrise until the ringing of the bell of the Virgin Mary, then to breakfast in the fabric lodge, then one of the masters shall knock upon the door of the lodge, and forthwith all are to return to work until noon. Between April and August, after dinner they shall sleep in the lodge, then work until the first bell for vespers, then sit to drink to the end of the third bell, and return to work so long as they can see by daylight. It was usual for this church to find tunics (probably gowns), aprons, gloves, and clogs, and to give occasional potations and remuneration for extra work. Gloves were also given to the carpenters." Strikes, boycotting, and rattening were, even in those remote times, not wholly unknown, for there is an account of a conspiracy "that certain stonemasons or masons, being moved by a most wicked spirit of envy, wickedly conspiring for the death and ultimate destruction"—which does credit to their ingenuity—"of Magister William Colchester, assigned to us and to the fabric of our church by our most dread lord the king, by his letters patent (Colchester had been master mason of Westminster Abbey) for the government of the said fabric, and specially received under the protection of the same, treacherously assaulting the said William, did grievously wound him, and did so injure another person, his assistant, that his life is considered in serious danger." In 1433 two "setters" had £1, 6s. 8d. given to them as remuneration, also two skins for aprons, according to custom, which cost 12d., and ten pair of gloves, given at the time of setting the stones, costing 18d. A nearly similar entry occurs in the following year. In 1472 William Hyndely, warden of the lodge of masons, was paid at the rate of 3s. 4d. a week for twenty-eight weeks, for working in the office of the master of the masons, and had 13s. 4d. for a reward. He became master mason, and, two years later, was working with two apprentices and three labourers; and, five years after that, with eleven masons and two apprentices. The bridge at Catterick, 1412, was contracted for by three masons at a lump sum, with a gown to each, "according to their degree." The building of Walberswick steeple, 1426, was undertaken for 40s., with a cale of herrings and a gown² of "lenore ones," which is not very clear—possibly *leucre once*, or "livery once," each time of working. A parish in Suffolk, 1430, was to provide every Freemason with a pair of white leather gloves and a white apron during the works. So the mason, contractor for rebuilding the bell tower of Bury St Edmunds, 1435, was to have £10 a year, board for himself in the convent

² The remarks which next follow are mainly based upon papers, "On the Superintendents of English Buildings in the Middle Ages," read at the Royal Institute of British Architects, January 23, 1860, and December 2, 1861, by Mr Wyatt Papworth, to which gentleman I am further indebted for many valuable references (*Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1859-60, pp. 38-51, and 1861-62, pp. 37-60). The authorities for the statements contained in these two papers will be found in the "Dictionary of Architecture," issued by the Architectural Publication Society.

² A garment of some sort was frequently stipulated for. Thus, from an MS. cited by Sir John Fenn, in the "Paston Letters," ii., p. 16, we learn that, in 1464, a *labourer* covenanted to serve twelve months, with a *gown* and diet, for £1, 6s.

hall as a gentleman, and for his servant as a yeoman, also two robes, one for himself of gentleman's livery, that of the servant to be a yeoman's livery. Livery at that time was not a badge of servitude or menial office as at present, but of subservience, and was worn by young gentlemen of high rank when in attendance on some great lord, which was a part of their education. "Wearing the Queen's livery" is an undoubted survival of these ideas, which I mention to show that the builders were not the masters but the employés (not exactly the servants) of those who paid them.¹ Hence I do not wish further to encumber these pages with examples of gowns, aprons, and gloves, nor of the various accounts, rates of wages, etc., which, after all, prove but little. A "house" seems to have very commonly been part of the salary of the master mason, as in the agreement between the Prior of Durham and John Bell "*latimus*," 1488, and in many other and earlier instances. The said John Bell had also an apprentice for whom he was to be paid by the sacristan. In 1610 "a Freemason, who can draw his plot, work, and set accordingly, having charge over others," is considered as worth 12d. a day before Michaelmas, and 10d. after it. A rough mason who can take charge over others, was, at that time, worth 10d. and 8d. according to the same seasons. I instance this as showing that the old customs subsisted, occasionally at least, until very late times.

One of the earliest intimations of the "lodge"² occurs in 1200, when a *tabulatum domicium* was the shed erected in front of St Albans Abbey—by Hugh Goldcliffe aforesaid, and, in 1321, is an entry of 2s. 6d. for straw to cover the masons' lodge at Carnarvon Castle. At the chapel of St Stephen, Westminster, a man was paid, in 1320, to clean out the lodge, amongst other work. In 1399, there occurs at York a list of the stores at the "loge" in the cemetery. In 1395, at the additions to Westminster Hall, the king engaged to find "herbergage" (harbourage) for the masons and their companions (journeymen); and, in the same year, is noticed the fact of two carpenters working upon the new house for the masons of Westminster Abbey, and another house in Tothill Street; and of 15s. 6d. being paid to the "dauber" for the lodge for the masons and the house in that street. The earliest of the Masonic "Constitutions" or "Charges," the Halliwell, *circa* 1400 (*ante*, p. 60), has—"If in the logge the apprentice were taken," and also—

"The prevystye of the chamber telle he no mon,
Ny yn the *logge* whatsever they done ;"

which is styled by Mr Papworth "a satisfactory instance of the attempt at concealment of trade mysteries." In 1421, at Catterick church, a "luge" of four rooms is specified as having to be made for the masons. In 1426, the masons engaged to build Walberswick steeple were to be provided with a "hows" to eat, drink, work, and sleep in, and to "make mete in," *i.e.*, fitting or convenient. As I have shown, these lodges were formerly thatched, but one

¹ The first donation of a livery to the king's clerk of the works yet ascertained was in 1391. Tunics, aprons, gloves (1355), and clogs and shoes, appear to have been the necessaries found for those of the secondary and lower classes. Rymundo de Monforte de Lamos St Lugo, 1127, stipulated for a cloak of office (see also Street, Gothic Architecture in Spain).

² *Loge*, Anglo-Norman; a lodge, habitation, lodging (Wright's Glossary to Chaucer's Poems). Cf. Dictionary of Architecture, s.v., where twenty-four instances of the "lodge," being referred to, between 1200 and 1523, in England, and four, between 1483 and 1527, in Scotland, are given.

properly "tiled" was to be provided at the expense of some parishioners in Suffolk. In 1432, a "luge" was erected in the cemetery at Durham. And, in 1541, Thomas Phillips, free-mason, and John Pettit, covenanted "to set up and fully finish" the Coventry Cross, and, at their own charge, "to prepare, find, and make a house or lodge for masons to work in during the time of making the same cross."¹ Various customs of trade are mentioned in the manuscript constitutions of later date.

As regards the origin of masonic guilds there are two traditions, besides the alleged charter of Athelstan, and the familiar legend of St Alban, namely, one making Godfrey de Lucy bishop of Winchester, who first rebuilt the eastern portion of his cathedral, the founder of a confraternity, 1202, which is accepted by Milner as the origin of the society of Freemasons; the second, that advanced by Anderson, 1738, but never authenticated, who assigns the honour to William Molart, prior of Canterbury cathedral, 1429, under the patronage of Archbishop Chichele.² Neither of these are really worth discussing. Even supposing that such societies were founded, it is quite clear from the whole documentary evidence that they must have been short-lived, and, during that short life, never extended their influence. There was, however, undoubtedly a guild of masons in London in 1375, when the right of election to the civic dignities, including those of parliamentary representatives, were transferred from the wards to the trading companies. In the next year a list was drawn up in French of the number of persons chosen for common councilmen by the trades. This list comprises 148 members, of whom the masons sent 4, and the Freemasons 2. It is believed that the latter afterwards merged in the former, and this amalgamation probably occurred prior to 1421-2,³ 9 Henry V, for a document in possession of the Brewers' Company of that year gives the masons as 29th on a list of 112 companies, but omits all mention of the *Freemasons*. Halliwell instances a single statement to the effect that "a company of under masons was formed in London, 12 Edward IV, 1473, while the incorporation of the masons is sometimes referred to as having taken place in 1677 or 1678, by erroneously taking the renewal of their charter by Charles II. as the original. The date, 1411, is recorded in the usual subscription to the coat of arms. It is worth remarking that Stowe says that the masons were formerly called Freemasons.⁴ There is also a notice of a guild of *cementarii*, 1422-3. Mr Papworth considers it as a curious coincidence that the handwriting of the earliest constitutions is about contemporary with the date 1375, but that this is much too vague to support any argument or theory whatever. He further says that this date coincides with that of the supposed formation of a wonderful secret society of masons who banded themselves together to escape the oppressive measures of Edward III., who "pressed" men to serve on his numerous buildings. As Mr Papworth very justly observes, there is probability about much of this, but

¹ T. W. Whitley, *The Coventry Cross*, 1880, pp. 8, 9. "It has been thought that 'Thomas Phillips, freemason,' was the real contractor and builder, whilst Pettit was the quarry owner, and found the stone. Of this, however, we have no real evidence" (*Ibid.*, p. 11).

² "Among the Tanner MSS., Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Register of Christ Church, Canterbury, and of William Molash, not Molart, is extant. It contains no mention of a lodge being held under Chicheley, but it states that the 'Lathomi' received livery. . . . This is no doubt the same entry alluded to by Preston [*Illustrations of Masonry*], but he has found more on it than it will bear" (*Kenning's Cyclopaedia*, *Chicheley*).

³ See W. Herbert, *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, 1837, vol. i., p. 23.

⁴ Seymour, Stowe, vol. ii. The company of "marblers" appears to have been also absorbed by that of the "masons" (Herbert, vol. i., p. 33; Strype, p. 215; and Seymour, pp. 381, 392). In 1501-2, however, the masons' company only comprised eleven members (Papworth).

no authority. The earliest, or one of the earliest, enactments¹ regulating the price of wages, was directed more or less against trades unions in general, and not those of the building trades in particular. That the trades continued to resist these enactments was only natural, and that they did so is proved by the various statutes promulgated from time to time; from these it is clear that fellowships and guilds of the building trades existed from the middle of the fourteenth century as might have been expected, but there is no proof that any supreme guild existed, but rather the reverse. Also, it does not seem clear whether the building trades generally, had any connection with the Masons' Company of London;² and I should be inclined to think that the building trades associations were mere trades union societies differing from the guilds, which partook more of a corporate character; and which, hence, more closely resembled the *Collegia*, if they did not actually descend from them. Speaking of this supposed descent, I may mention here, incidentally, that I should be much more inclined to look for their traces in France, especially in the south among the *Confrèries*, not in the Companionage, which is, and was, a collection of trades unions; or in Italy among the workmen fraternities of the Middle Ages, than in England or Germany.³

As regards the grips and signs *attributed* to the early builders, the masons' marks, the secrets, the lewd and profane symbols, and the numerous figures indicative of a dislike of and contempt for the clergy, very few words are necessary, the more especially as the "signs and tokens," and the "masons' marks," will be referred to in subsequent chapters. That artisans of an especial trade should have peculiar modes of recognising each other when travelling in search of work, is nothing but what might have been expected—such practices exist in the Companionage, and may in England, for all we know to the contrary—although I believe they did not arise, or at least traces of them have not been found, until comparatively recent times. Moreover, a secret society has certain political, religious, or social—some may call them anti-social—objects. These they would ill serve, by devoting their time to the practice of working stonemasonry, and would serve it still less by contributing to the advancement and glorification of the Church, which has always considered the repression of such societies and such aspirations as being among her chiefest duties. Furthermore, all documentary and trustworthy evidence, all the dictates of sound common sense, tend to discourage, and even ridicule, such a notion as being the mere chimera of visionaries and enthusiasts. So the marks are nothing but the ordinary marks similar to those made and chosen by each individual mason at the present day, whereby, in case of necessity, each man's work is ascertained. They are, apart from immediate trade purposes, useful and interesting to the antiquary, as showing the numbers who worked on any particular building, as well as whether the same masons worked on any other edifice, and if so, where; but how any one but a theorist, who prefers dreaming in his study to acquiring wholesome practical knowledge, could imagine that—when used by the masons—they referred to any esoteric doctrines, certainly surpasses my comprehension. That our mediaeval ancestors were superstitious and fond of alchemy, believing in certain

¹ The statutes relating to the building trades will be fully examined in a subsequent chapter.

² The following entry, however, will be found in the "Calendar of State Papers," Domestic Series, vol. cxiv., p. 403: "1667—Aug. 22.—The King to the Lord Mayor,—There being great want of masons and bricklayers to carry on the important works at Sheerness, he is to summon the masters and wardens of those companies, and order as many able workmen to be sent as shall perfect the work before the season of the year prevents."

³ One of the best and fullest works on this subject is "Gayés Carteggio di documenti inediti," from the Florentine archives.

signs, etc., is undoubtedly true, and that workmen may have occasionally chosen such figures for their marks, partly from superstition and partly from caprice, is likely enough, but one can scarcely imagine any man foolish enough to waste his time and trouble in inscribing some mysterious secret on that side of a stone which was to be immediately covered up, there to remain for centuries, if it was ever destined to see the light at all. The only parallel that I can discover to such a proceeding is the famous classic story of the worthy, who, oppressed by the greatness of his secret, told it to the reeds, and what that was, all knew when the wind forced the reeds to divulge it. As to their secrets, all trades have their own, important or otherwise, to the present day, and the mediæval masons must have been more likely to have possessed theirs, when we consider the extreme height and comparative fragility of their buildings, the thinness of the walls and vaulting, and the smallness of the stone employed. Both Wren and Soufflot, the builders of St Paul's and of St Geneviève (*Panthéon*) and certainly the two most scientific architects of their respective countries, conceived the highest opinion of the skill of their mediæval predecessors, and we must remember that books in our sense of the word scarcely existed, and that the great bulk of the teaching was oral, whilst books of practical geometry did not exist at all. Out of the thousands of names of authors and their works collected by the laborious compilers of the famous "*Histoire Littéraire de la France*," I do not recollect any that treat upon this subject. "It may be conceived," says Poole, "that the great secret of the Society resided in the practical way in which many principles, after which we are now feeling in vain, and many rules of construction which each man now learns to employ by a mathematical process, were reduced to what is vulgarly, but expressively, called 'the rule of thumb.'" "Perhaps," he continues, "John Wastell, the master mason of King's College Chapel, followed with the utmost assurance a rule of which he could not give a philosophical account, but which he was ready to apply again and again to works of every magnitude."¹ There was a double motive with these men for keeping their trade secrets close, for besides the mystery which mankind are so prone to affect, they really had something both to learn and to conceal.

As for the various symbols, lewd, profane, or merely caricatures, it should never be forgotten that the mediæval nations were extremely coarse, and in their way extremely witty. A very slight acquaintance with mediæval literature will cause us to feel no surprise when we meet with stone caricatures equal in strength and coarseness to those of Rowlandson and Gillray, nor need we be astonished to find a good deal turn upon the clergy, as do a great number of those of our English draughtsmen, especially in the matter of tithe; and these, together with indecencies which are, after all, not quite unknown in more refined ages, were probably the amusements of carnally-minded workmen when they thought they could indulge in them without risk of discovery.² But a strong anti-religious and anti-social sub-current certainly existed throughout the Middle Ages, and these figures may possibly be the expressions of the feelings and opinions of individuals among the masons, though that any large body of men should combine to erect a magnificent edifice for the furtherance of a diametrically opposite creed, in order

¹ G. A. Poole, *History of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, 1848, p. 118. Mr R. P. Knight says: "If we ask what is meant by pure Gothic, we receive no satisfactory reply; there are no rules, no proportions, and consequently no definitions." And in another part of his work he asserts, that the Gothic architects recognised no rules, but worked merely for effect (*Analytic Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*, 2d edit., pp. 162, 175). It is but right to say that the validity of Mr Knight's conclusion was strongly contested by Hawkins (*Gothic Architecture*, p. 182) in 1818; and that a recent author (Fort, p. 199) also scorns the idea of the "rule of thumb" adopted in the text.

² See Findel, p. 68, and *ante*, p. 166.

to put somewhere out of sight a little figure or symbol indicating their own, is an absurdity that I do not suppose the secret societies with all their inconsistencies—and they have committed many and striking ones—could be capable of.¹ As to the symbols found, or at least said to be found in churches connected with the Templars, these open up a new subject upon which neither time nor space will permit me to dwell, and it possesses but a very shadowy connection with our general inquiry.

Lastly,—having to some degree, it is hoped, cleared away the mythical and mystical cloud that hangs around the subject, and having attempted to show that in both builders and buildings there is nothing to be discovered other than may be suggested by the dictates of reason and the light of common sense—comes the most curious, the most important, and at the same time the most obscure question of all, Who were the actual architects and designers of the mediæval edifices? and were they operative masons or at least men belonging to that body? Various theories have been advanced on this most interesting subject,—the monks, the master masons, the regular—*i.e.*, regular according to our ideas—the modern architect, the freemason, while some have gone so far as to say that the reason why so few names are known is, that the mediæval architects concealed their names from an excess of piety, a suggestion which is about on a *par* with the supposition that in British journalism the writers of leading articles are actuated by a like feeling of modesty and self-denial. Where so many different ideas have been advanced, and have been, some of them at least, so ably championed, I have a right to advance my own, which I shall do briefly and to the best of my ability, but it will be first advisable to see what are the various designations used for masons in the Middle Ages.

“*Cementarius*,” says Mr Papworth, “is naturally the earliest, 1077, and is the term most constantly used. ‘*Artifices*’ were collected at Canterbury to a consultation, from which William of Sens came out the ‘*Magister*,’ a term also applied to his successor—William, the Englishman; but it is not clear whether ‘*master of the work*’ or ‘*master mason*’ is to be applied to these two. In 1217, a popular educational writer noted the word ‘*cementarii*,’ together with the old French synonym ‘*maszun*,’ leaving little hesitation for our accepting the one for the other. The ‘*London Assize*,’ of 1212, besides ‘*cementarii*’ has ‘*sculptores lapidum liberorum*,’ words of very exceptional use.² At the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, the terms ‘*magister cementarii*,’ with his ‘*sociis*’ or fellows, are obtained. ‘*Marmorarius*’ has been noted; also a new word ‘*latomus*,’ which is, after that period, found written in all manner of spellings.³ A ‘*masoune*,’ in old French, is to erect a house, ‘*de pere fraunce*;’ and of somewhat later date is found a ‘*mestre mason de franche pere*;’ while still later, 1360, a mason ‘*de fraunce pere ou de grosse pere*’ appears in the statutes. In a writ of 1415 are the words ‘*petras vocatas ragge calces et liberas petras*.’ During the fourteenth century ‘*lathomus*’ is constantly found, and it would appear to be applied as often to the mason who was to execute cut-work, as to the mason who was required

¹ The only instance at all comparable to such afeat that I know of is that of a nonconformist minister, who went to the trouble and expense of editing Hooker that he might refute him in footnotes in the proportion of about three lines to four pages.

² The *cementarii* above mentioned had 3d. and their food per day, or 4½d. without food; the *sculptores* had 2d. and 4d. per day.

Latomus was used in an inscription in Paris as early as 1257.

⁴ As *fraunce pere*, or *free stone*, appears to mean stone that cut freely, the substitution of *liber* for *fraunce* (unless merely a literal translation) points to some connection between the *freemason* and the *freedom* of a trade.

for rougher work, or to labour at the quarry. Under the date of 1396, the contractors for the works at Westminster Hall were 'citiens et masons de Londres'; and of the same year is the passage '*lathomos vocatos fre Muccos*', and '*lathomos vocatos ligicrs*',¹ or, as we should translate the words, masons called free (stone) masons, and masons (the same term is used for both) called layers or setters.²

"Cementarius," or "Simentarius" before, and "fremason" after, 1396, are found in the Fabric Rolls of Exeter Cathedral. In the Roll for 1426 (the 5th year of Henry VI.), which is composed of parchment sheets joined continuously, about 15 feet in length, and 11 in breadth, occurs the following entry:³—

Johi Harry fremason opanti ibim p septiam	3s.
Johi Umfray fremason p hanc septiam	nl. q, hic recessit.

As already observed "Lathomus" is appended to William de Wynneford's portrait at Winchester college; and, somewhat later, amongst the "latimi" at Durham, one is specially called a "ffremason."

"Thereafter," continues Mr Papworth, "mason and freemason are terms in constant use down to the present time.⁴ From these details three facts are obtained,—the first, that the earliest use of the English term Freemason was in 1396, without any previous Latin word. The second is, that the word freestone, or its equivalent Latin term, had been employed from the beginning of the previous century, *i.e.* 1212; and the third fact, if that word be permitted me, is, that the term Freemason⁵ itself is clearly derived from a mason who worked freestone, in contradistinction to the mason who was employed in rough work."

The terms architect, ingeniator, supervisor, surveyor, overseer, keeper of the works, keeper of the fabric, director, clerk of the works, and devizor, are all of comparatively recent date, at least in their general use and application. That these mediæval terms are not yet clearly comprehended may be gathered from an amusing quotation in the case of Richard of Wolveston, cited as a "prudens architectus" in a register of the period of Bishop Pudsey of Durham, early in the twelfth century. In a charter relating to an exchange of lands, this

¹ Mr W. H. Rylands, in "The Freemason" of November 26, 1881, and the "Masonic Magazine" of February 1882, has printed the deed, dated 14th June, 19 Richard II., or A.D. 1396, from the copy of the original document preserved in the Sloane MSS. (No. 4595, p. 50). He describes the entry in Rymer's "Fœdera" (vol. xvii., edit. 1717), cited by Mr Papworth in the "Dictionary of Architecture," *s.v.* "Freemason," as occurring in a syllabus of manuscript Acts, not published, at the end of the volume, after the index, p. 55.

² Transactions Royal Institute of British Architects, 1861-62, pp. 37-60.

³ For this reference I am indebted to Mr James Jernau, of Exeter. This gentleman and the Rev. H. Reynolds (the chapter librarian) vainly searched the Fabric Roll of 1396 for the name of "William Foundyng, freemason," mentioned by Britton in his "Exeter Cathedral," 1827, p. 96.

⁴ Mr Papworth cites William Horwode, freemason, Fotheringay, 1435; John Wode, masoun, who contracted to build the tower of the Abbey Church of St Edmundsbury, "in all mannere of things that longe to free masonry," 1435; John Stowell, ffremason, Wells, 1470; William Este, fremason, Oxford, 1494; John Hylmer and William Vertue, freemasons, Windsor, 1507. In the sixteenth century the term *frecnason* becomes more common. The words *cementarius* and *latomus* are repeatedly found in the two volumes of *Vocabularies*, dating from the tenth to the sixteenth century, edited by the late Thomas Wright, and privately printed, 1857 and 1873. Many extracts from this work were given by Mr W. H. Rylands, in the "Freemason" of September 3, 1881. Mr Papworth says: "that the terms 'magister lapicida' and 'liberi mnratores' are nowhere to be met with in documents relating to England, and thus there is no sufficient authority for that constant use of them observable in writers of former years."

⁵ The derivation of this word will again claim our attention.

Richard is styled "ingeniator," and the translator, commenting upon the term, writes, "Dick the Snarer, *then*, doubtless, a title of honour; a gin is still technically called an engine or ingene;" though, as Mr Papworth observes, such a sobriquet would now, however applicable, be deemed the reverse of complimentary, if bestowed on the gamekeeper of a bishop. It has been urged however, that this surname (ingeniator) was not uncommon in the North of England at the period, and was applied to any person who manifested genius in his vocation.¹

Many interesting papers have been read before the Institute of British Architects, followed by discussion and debate, the object of which was to clear up the mystery attending the real architects of the great mediæval buildings, in which three principal theories were maintained,²—one being the old popular notion that the architects were the monks themselves; another, that they were the master masons; and the third, that there existed, as at present, a regular order of architects who worked in precisely the same way as men in the profession do now; but, in spite of a great deal of argument and learning, the "grand crux," as Mr Digby Wyatt observed at the close of one discussion, "remains unsolved."³ It seems to me, however, that the difficulty encountered at this point of our research arises, (1.) from the fact of different words being used at different times to signify the same thing, a fact which is too often disregarded; (2.) from not sufficiently contrasting the modes in which trades and professions were carried on at periods of time remote from our own; and (3.), from too hasty a generalisation upon imperfect data, without pausing to reflect that customs and ideas have been influenced both by nationality and locality, and that because one set or description of men were numerously employed, this by no means precluded the employment on other occasions of a very different class, and that the former—although, even in this instance, often with exceptions—may have been more constantly in requisition in one time and place than in another.

Let me take England first. It is, doubtless, true that missionary priests and small bands of monks, on first settling on the site of the future monastery, may have been forced to instruct the barbarous natives, and even to work with their own hands; and, in this view, it is probable that some of their number were skilled artificers, or had been so, before they took the vows, although, in such rude buildings, no great skill was required. It may be true, also, that Wilfred laboured with his own hands on his churches, but this proves very little.⁴ Bishop Hackett—appointed to Lichfield at the Restoration—began, the morning after his arrival, to clear away the rubbish with which the fall of the great spire during the siege had encumbered the nave of the cathedral, with his own hands and with the aid of his servants and coach-horses; and Isaac Barrow, master of Trinity, after his scheme for a university library at Cambridge had been rejected by the senate, went straight back to Trinity and began to measure out the plot of ground on which the magnificent library now stands—one of the masterpieces of Wren—with the aid of his coachman and a ball of twine. Benedict Biscop brought over *cementarii*, not *monachi*, from Gaul; and Offa employed also foreign workmen. On the other hand, a monk appears to have been the actual architect of Ramsey,

¹ Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1861-62.

² See Transactions, 1856-60, pp. 38-51; 1861-62, pp. 37-60; and 1863-64, 130-146.

³ December 2, 1861. Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1861-62, p. 60.

⁴ St Dunstan is reported to have been an excellent blacksmith; and Bede, in his "Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow," remarks that the Abbot of Wearmouth assisted his monks in their agricultural labours, by guiding the plough, and by making various implements of husbandry.

and a priest would seem to have had a share in the little Yorkshire church above mentioned.

Omitting mere masons and artificers, whose names are legion, we begin, shortly after the Conquest, with Robertus Cementarius, who presided over the building of St Albans, and was said to have been the most skilful mason of his time;¹ the oft-referred-to Hugh de Goldcliffe—who, about 1200 A.D., so swindled the ambitious but unbusinesslike Abbot Paul of St Albans out of his money, and was the cause of the west front still lacking its towers, which the original Norman structure possessed—was clearly a contractor, although only a *cementarius*. Mr Papworth calls him a designer, although without proof, as far as I can see, unless by the expression he means a *designing* man. He also was highly praised for his talent, but not for his integrity. A little before comes William of Sens at Canterbury—who is supposed to have introduced into this country the true Gothic, as well as the practice of vaulting in stone,—then his successor, Gulielmus Anglus, or William the Englishman, who is supposed to have been identical with one William of Coventry, and is, I believe, celebrated by Malmesbury, and is credited with the original Norman abbey at Gloucester. It is worthy of remark that both at St Albans, under Abbot Paul, and at Canterbury, before the commencement of the works by William of Sens, conferences of eminent *cementarii* were held, at which Goldcliffe and William of Sens respectively carried off the palm. Were open competitions and committees not unknown even in those early days? The same thing occurred before the commencement of Westminster, but nothing further is, I believe, known on the subject. About the same time, also, flourished Alexander de Noyes, of Lincoln celebrity, and here I am inclined to think that the known list of great English *cementarii* terminates, unless we believe that Richard de Farleigh, 1334, was the architect of the tower and spire of Salisbury. He made an agreement, the story of which—but, unfortunately, not the exact words—are given in Dodsworth's history of the cathedral. The endorsement, however, is “Conventiae Richardi de Farleigh, Lathom,” and in the body he is called “Richardi Davy de Farleigh, *cementarius*” thus—if we follow Mr Papworth—proving him to be the master mason and designer. It stipulates that he should be entrusted with the custody of the fabric, to order and to do all necessary work in the same, and to superintend, direct, and appoint useful and faithful masons and plasterers; with regard to himself, that he should perform useful and faithful work, and use circumspect diligence, as well as provident discretion with regard to the artificers under him, that he should repair thither and make such stay as the necessity or nature of the fabric shall require, and that, notwithstanding his prior obligations at Bath and Reading, he should not neglect or delay the works of the church. Afterwards, when settlements appeared in the tower arches in consequence of these works, an agreement was made with Nicholas de Portland, mason, conceived in the same general terms as those already cited; and when further repairs were contemplated, 1415, a similar agreement was made with Robert Wayte, mason. The above agreement with Farleigh, always supposing it to have represented the original correctly, would seem to be rather with an architect or superintendent of buildings, who covenants to see the thing properly done, than with a contractor, in our sense of the word, *i.e.*, one who undertakes the cost for a consideration, although there is nothing said about the *design*. After this, or even from an earlier period, there exist numerous covenants with masons, some of whom were

¹ Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1861-62.

actual contractors, though apparently not on a large scale, *i.e.*, taking piece work instead of working by the day, they are all called, apparently indiscriminately, *cementarii*, *latomi*, *masounes*, and, towards the end, *freemasons*—whether merely a new term, or designating men belonging to a new organisation, I cannot determine,—and they, as well as their employers, seem uncommonly well able to take care of themselves. It should be stated, that of the names that have come down to us but few betray a foreign origin, the great majority being those of persons who, apparently, were natives of the districts in which the edifices were reared, with which their names are connected. This will account, in a great measure, for the local peculiarities such as are constantly met with, and which seem to indicate the existence of local schools.¹ Towards the end of the time the contracts seem to become larger, as in the case of Horwood, the freemason, for the chapel of Fotheringhay; and Semark and Wastell, for the roof of King's College Chapel. I may remark, by the way, that the records of the three great perpendicular chapels are very fully preserved, and in a great part published, and afford very full information of the *modus operandi* at that particular period. I now turn to the list of ecclesiastical architects, real or supposed.

Gundulf will occur to all. His claim has been strenuously advocated and as strenuously denied, and that by very eminent men; and I can neither weary my readers with the arguments *pro* and *con*, nor undertake to decide *ex cathedra*. Flambard, the "vizier" of Rufus, is an instance, amongst many, of a man obtaining credit for what he did not do, and failing to obtain credit for that which he did. There is not, as far as I know, the slightest proof of his having had any skill in architecture; but he *was* a lawyer, and wrote the earliest book on English law—still in MS. Paulinus, the sacrist, built Frindsbury, in Kent, 1137, where some of the earliest pointed arches in England, exactly contemporary with those of St Cross, Winchester, are yet to be seen. Arnold, a *lay* brother of Croyland, under Odo the prior, A.D. 1113, is said to have been *cementarius artis artificiosissimus magister*, and to have executed work there.²

Will Stowe is said to have erected a new steeple to the abbey at Evesham, 1319, where there was also a tombstone with the inscription "Hoc anno (1319), obiit Henricus *Latomus*, qui sub Johanne Abbatte de Evesham aulam abbathiae artificiosè composuit."³ It is usually said of the subject of this epitaph that the fact of his having been a monk is distinctly expressed, and according to Rudge he was sacrist of the abbey.⁴ There were also Richard de Gainsborough and Robert de Gloucester, both called *cementarius*.⁵

According to Dallaway, formerly a great authority, Hugh the Burgundian, Bishop of Lincoln, Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, and some others are clearly proved to have been great architects, but this statement seems destitute of any foundation in fact.

Robert Tulley (afterward Bishop of St David's) built the tower of Gloucester Cathedral, while a monk, under Abbot Sebroke; he was also patronised by Waynflete. Over the dividing arch of the nave and choir is, or was, written⁶—

¹ "Of the Churches of the early Middle Ages," Mr G. E. Street, in a paper read before the members of St Paul's Ecclesiastical Society, May 21, 1879, says: "I could have told you how they may be classified into groups, speaking to us of the skill and genius of individual architects, each in his own district or diocese" (The Building News May 30, 1879, vol. xxxvi, p. 598; see *ante*, p. 282).

² Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland (the continuation by Peter of Blois).

³ Leland's Collectanea; Dallaway, Discourses on Architecture, p. 51.

⁴ History of Evesham, p. 28.

⁵ Walpole's Anecdotes (Wornum), vol. i., p. 125.

⁶ Dallaway, Discourses on Architecture, p. 178.

“ *Hoc quod digestum specularis opusque politum
Tullii ex onere Sebroke abbatte jubente.*”

The author of a paper read before the Society of British Architects, April 18th, 1864, after saying that the great multitude of our churches are built by men utterly unknown, proceeds to give some exceptions to this general rule, one being in the case of Vale Crucis Abbey, near Llangollen, “ where across the gable of the west front is inserted the fact—‘ Adamus Abbas fecit hoc opus in pace quiescat, Amen.’ ” Passing from this statement, the value of which I do not rate very highly, we find that—

Elias de Derham, or Berham, canon of Salisbury, directed the building operations, though Leland speaks of “ Robertus, cementarius,” who ruled the works there for twenty-five years. There were also under him Henry of Cerne, mason, and Alan de Hereford, carpenter.

Nicholas Cloos, Bishop of Lichfield, and son of a Dutchman, may possibly have had something to do with the original design of King’s College Chapel, which was begun shortly before his death in 1453, but which certainly became a far more elaborate and magnificent building than its founder or original designer—whoever he may have been—had ever intended it to be. This is the utmost extent of the much-talked-of German influence in England that I have been able to trace.

William Bolton, prior of St Bartholomew’s, Smithfield, is usually considered to possess the best title to the honour of having designed and built the chapel of Henry VII. at West-minster.¹

I now come to the two greatest names of all.

Wykeham’s claims to architectural eminence have been still more fiercely disputed than even those of Gundulf. One eminent authority, whose name out of respect I will not mention, is distinctly at variance with himself, saying one thing in a discussion on one of Mr Papworth’s papers, and another in a work published at about the same time. I repeat here what I have above said about Gundulf, save that the balance of probability is a good deal in favour of Wykeham. At any rate, which is a point of importance, he had under him three eminent artificers.

With regard to Alan de Walsingham, the case happily is far more explicit, and as the “ *Historia Eliensis* ” goes into considerable detail, and thereby throws a flood of light upon the architectural transactions—at least in England—during the Middle Ages, I shall now draw upon these stores, first premising that it has been constantly stated that he is there styled “ *vir venerabilis, et artificiosus frater*, ” a phrase that really occurs in Leland’s “ *Collectanea*. ”² After stating that he was first of all sub-prior, and then sacrist, and having described the fall of the central tower, the record continues:—“ The aforesaid sacrist, Alan de Walsingham, was greatly grieved and overwhelmed by this lamentable and overpowering calamity, so that he scarcely knew which way to turn, or what to do to remedy the effects of so great a ruin. At length, trusting to the help of God, and of Mary His most holy mother, and in the merits of the virgin Ethelreda, he set vigorously to work, and, to commence with, had, as quickly as possible, all the stones which had fallen inside the church cleared out, and the

¹ Thoresby may have had a great deal to do with the choir of York, and Oliver King, Bishop of Bath and Wells, is said to have designed the Abbey Church at Bath. To Bishop Quivil, Dallaway accords the credit of having designed Exeter Cathedral (Discourses, etc., pp. 53, 153).

² Ed. 1774, ii., 604.

place cleansed of the great quantity of dust which had collected ; then the place in which the new campanile was to be built was, by means of architectural skill, divided into eight parts in which might be erected eight columns of stone supporting the whole superstructure, and beyond which was to be built the choir with its stalls ; and these parts he caused to be dug down into, and well examined, until he arrived at a solid place where the foundations of the work might be securely laid.¹ These eight places having been firmly examined, as has been stated above, and further rammed down with stones and sand, he at length began the eight columns, together with their stone superstructure, which was finished as far as the upper cornice in six years, A.D. 1328. Then was immediately commenced, on the top of the aforesaid stonework, that scientific structure of wood, belonging to the new campanile, which is reckoned as one of the highest and most wonderful efforts of the human mind. The cost was very great and burdensome, especially for the great beams of the said building, which were naturally obliged to be of a size, and which had to be sought far and wide, and having been at length discovered and prepared with the greatest difficulty, were brought to Ely by land and water carriage, and, having been shaped and carved by able workmen (*per ingeniosos artifices*) were scientifically fitted together in the work itself ; and thus, by the Divine aid, was obtained the glorious and much-wished-for result. The cost (*costus?*) of the new campanile for twenty years, under brother Alan de Walsingham, amounted to £2400, 6s. 11d., of which £260, 1s. came from gifts.²

Walsingham had as coadjutor John de Wisbeach, and under him was John Altgryne, generally described as a bricklayer, but who must clearly have been a stonemason, inasmuch as there is not a brick in the building. I may add that portions of Walsingham's expenses were published by Governor Pownall, but they refer only to such things as the use of silicate in tempering colours, etc., the most important being omitted.

These notices are all that I have been able to gather ; and I am conscious that, few as they are, they are not altogether satisfactory as they stand. The fabric rolls of several cathedrals, however, still exist in MSS. ; possibly, also, many MSS. relating to abbeys lie hidden in the recesses of our great public libraries. Could these be published or investigated, and could some one be found who possessed a courage and a patience sufficient to enable him to go through, even with the help of the indexes, the printed chronicles and documents relating to our mediæval England—I will not speak of the materials still existing in MSS., which amount to, I think, between two or three thousand volumes, according to Sir Thomas Hardy's catalogue—could, I say, such a man be found, he would, doubtless, clear up much which is obscure in the history of our Gothic architecture ; till then all that can be done is to collect in as short a compass as possible all known facts, and then to comment upon them according to the light of reason and common sense.³

From the above list we gather the names of seven *cementarii*, who evidently were more than mere workmen, or even master masons, in our sense of that term ; and we have also

¹ The excavation for the foundations of the dome of St Paul's, itself an imitation of Ely, is described in similar, if not identical, terms.

² Historia Eliensis, apud Wharton, *Anglia sacra*, vol. i., p. 623.

³ Essex, Warton, and Willis, all collected materials for a general history of Gothic architecture. No one was more competent than the "admirable Willis," but what has become of those materials ? It is but a few years since he died, and his nearest relatives are still, I believe, in the land of the living.

the names of thirteen clerics, including one lay brother (Arnold, of Croyland), who are supposed, with more or less appearance of truth, to have been—and some, at least, who certainly *were*—architects. We should also have seen, had the space permitted, that the *cementarii* were of all ranks and classes, from one capable of superintending or contracting for such a building as St Albans, or even of designing it—such as William of Sens, English William, and perhaps Farleigh at Salisbury—to the humble individual who undertook a tomb, a portion of a dormitory (as at Durham), or a village spire. These men, therefore, were not, by any means, all the mere workers raised but little above the class of journeymen that professional jealousy would sometimes have us believe. Next, we have the great clerical trio (I omit Gundulf) Derham, Wykeham, Walsingham, more especially the latter, since the account of his work is so clear and ample. It is quite evident from these three, backed and confirmed as they are by the positive accounts in the "Historia Eliensis," that there existed, at least here and there, ecclesiastics who were quite capable of taking the superintendence, perhaps even the execution, of a building into their own hands, provided they had competent master workmen under them. There was yet a third mode of proceeding—that adopted at York, where, and most probably in other cathedrals, there was always maintained a competent staff of workmen, which in time of need could be augmented from without. These were in general under the treasurer or the sacrist, and John le Romaine was the treasurer under whom the transepts were erected. Ample details as to York may be seen in the "Fabric Rolls," edited for the Surtees Society by Canon Raine, to which I must, once for all, refer the reader.¹ Gloucester seems to have been a regular school of masons—a kind of architectural college—in which theory was very properly mingled with practice, and from which, according to the best authorities, fan vaulting took its rise.² There was also, probably, another but earlier school at Wells. Hence we have three methods or modes of procedure adopted by our English mediæval builders: (1.) Where the work was done by the *cementarius* or *latomus*; (2.) Where the real head was a cleric; (3.) Where there was a kind of school, in which the clerics—or, at least, some of them—together with their master masons, "hammered out" the designs between them.

Here, as we do not generalise hastily from a few instances, and have thus arrived at this conclusion, so we shall find that by not judging of past times by our own, we shall arrive approximately at the reason why our ancestors could dispense with the class of men whom we call professional architects.

In the first place, architecture was at that time a living art, and as this art found its principal expression and employment in the erection of churches, it is not surprising that the ecclesiastical profession should have produced eminent men in that line, more especially when we remember the very varied, and even out-of-the-way callings in which both priests

¹ The Fabric Rolls of York Minster (vol. xxxv. of the publications of the Surtees Society). Sir Gilbert Scott says: "The point of the necessity of gangs of skilled workmen accustomed to work together has not been sufficiently attended to. The fables of the Freemasons have produced a natural reaction, and the degree of truth which there is in these traditions has consequently been overlooked. Each of our great cathedrals had a gang of workmen attached to it in regular pay" (Gleanings from Westminster Abbey, 1861).

² Fan vaulting may have been brought to perfection at Gloucester, but it really sprang from the gradually increased width of the aisles and bays, and the flattening of the clerestory vaulting, as any one can see for himself who contemplates a Gothic vault; or it may be said that the prevailing form gave rise to the opportunity which the Gloucester artists—I use the word for want of a better—seized.

and monks frequently distinguished themselves, and that there is, after all, a good deal of truth in the popular belief that the "monasteries" (for which read "the clerical profession generally") were the great depositaries of learning.¹ Next, as regards the masons themselves. It must not be assumed because an ordinary master mason, or clerk of the works, at the present day is incapable of executing any building of architectural pretension—though I can point to one eminent architect who was originally a working stonemason—that such was always the case, or, rather, that there was in the Middle Ages any such wide and impassable gulf between what are, after all, but two ends of the same trade, as we see at present. The comparative simplicity of the Middle Ages, and all analogy drawn from their social history, forbids such a supposition. Architect and mason were all integral parts of one body, whether corporate or not; and as a proof, the same words *cementarius*, etc., are used to designate them, whatever work, be it great or small, is alluded to; and though it by no means follows that the working mason often attained the highest rank, or that the architect often began from a much humbler position than that to which he subsequently attained, yet there was a much easier gradation between the two ranks—a gradation not the less easy because it may seldom have been climbed, like the mythical *bâton* in the French conscript's knapsack, as compared with the strongly drawn line which separates the British private from his officer.

The next question that arises is, How many buildings owe their origin to each of the three divisions I have above alluded to? The cathedrals with their regular sums, though possibly small, set apart for the fabric, and the perpetual power of drawing on the purses of the ambitious, the artistic, or the pious throughout the diocese and perhaps beyond it, could always maintain a body of workmen, and in general depend upon some member of the capitular body who was capable of directing them. When this was not so, the building stagnated. But with the abbeys the case was different, their churches were almost all built at the foundation of the houses.² These buildings, then, must have had in the first instance some guiding mind to whom they owe their beauties. It can scarcely be thought likely that every foundation should have had at its origin a member capable of such things whether he found himself there by accident or design, and it is, therefore, most probable that the *cementarii* carried out the works in the now ruined abbeys, aided occasionally by members of the fraternity as in the case of Arnold of Croyland, which, by the way, was an ancient foundation, and, therefore, one where brothers may have been trained. But if this was the case with the abbeys, it must have held, in a far greater degree, with the parish churches. It cannot be possible that the vast multitude of beautiful churches which dot our landscapes can owe their design to their respective parish priests, still less that the dignified cathedral clergy should have made tours (like an archidiaconal visitation) to plan and superintend the various edifices that may have been in progress of construction. Hence, the bulk of these magnificent buildings, as many of them undoubtedly are, may be referred to the skill of the masons alone, *e.g.*, at Wigtoft, in Lincolnshire, 1485-99 (a late example), twelvepence "earnest money" was given to a workman on condition that "he shall take no other work till we (the churchwardens) have done, without our leave and consents."³ In this case the workman

¹ So that we cannot judge them by modern clerical or university standards, although some of our best theoretical books have been written by clergymen. The great services of the clergy in bridge building must not be forgotten.

² So far as I am aware, there are only sixteen whose progress, like that of the cathedrals, has been gradual.

³ Transactions of Royal Institute of British Architects (1861-62). In the same paper Mr Papworth records an opinion "that it is to the master mason, as a general rule, that we may turn for the actual designer of all the well-known erections of the Middle Ages."

would almost seem to have been a designer. Hence, in England, the masonic body may very fairly be credited with a very large portion of mediæval, not to say, other church architecture, and must have very materially contributed to that in which the clerics had really the chief share.

As regards continental Europe, let us, in the first place, examine the theory of Viollet le Duc,¹ who considers Clugny to have been the centre and even controller of civilisation in the eleventh century, quoting to that end one Hugues de Farfa, who sent one of his disciples (John) to examine a report upon that famous Benedictine house, and whose MSS. is still in the Vatican.² And he supposes, further, that the dependence of the operatives upon the monks lasted until the revolt of Vezelay, 1119, when the commune shook themselves free of the monks in the quarrel between Hugues, Count de Nevus, and the abbey, and, because they were well paid, sided with the count. Even Thierry cannot conceal this. I need only say that this very beautiful theory, which has been reproduced in English,³ is worthy of a Frenchman, and has but slight foundation in fact.

There is another theory that Bernward, chancellor of the Emperor Otho III, and who seems to have been a kind of aesthetic Bismarck, was the originator of the Romanesque style, and this, too, may be relegated to the realm of improbabilities.

Passing by these theories, I will, as before, present to my readers the facts connected with foreign builders, as I have been able to discover them.

We find at Toulouse, Meclxxii, *magister Aymericus canonicus cancellarius et oprarius* (canon, chancellor, and architect) *ecclesiae Tolosanae*, and the name of Bernard de Sacco, priest, canon, and *oprarius* of St Sernin, ob. 1261.⁴

In France the usual term was master of the works, and is found on tombs at Chalons, 1257, St Ouen, 1440, Amiens, and Notre Dame. The *maître de l'œuvre* became architect in the sixteenth century. M. Verneil notices the working drawings traced on the granite slabs of the roof of Limoges, forming exactly the lines of the great piers of the crossing.⁵ There is a curious document at Gerona concerning the rebuilding of the cathedral, 1312. Two Frenchmen, called *oprarii* (*obrcos*), Raymond de Vitorie and Arnand de Montredon, were first employed. In 1316, Henri de Narbonne was the architect (but Street, from whom I copy, does not give the exact words), and after him came Jacques de Favarini, who was engaged to come to Gerona from Narbonne six times a year.⁶ He also refers to Matthæus, master of the work at Santiago, 1168-1188.

The first Spanish architect, according to Street, whose name is preserved, is Petrus de Deo, in an inscription in San Isidoro, at Leon; next comes Rymundo of Montforte de Lomos, 1127, and it may be worthy of remark that, as in England in somewhat later times, he stipulated for a cloak of office. In 1175, a contract was entered into with one Raymundo, a Lambardo, for works done in the cathedral of Urgel. He was to employ four Lambardos,⁷ and, if necessary, *cementarii* or wallers. Here we find a superior class, *i.e.*, the better class

¹ *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française*.

² MS. 6808.

³ *Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects*.

⁴ His tomb, or rather its slab is to be seen in the Museum at Toulouse.

⁵ *Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects* (Wyatt Papworth), January 1860.

⁶ It would be curious to know the exact style of architecture in the cathedral of Gerona, so as to compare it with any existing remains at Narbonne or the vicinity.

⁷ This term may imply either natives of Lombardy or skilled artificers? See *ante*, p. 260.

of *cementarii* had a distinct name from the Lombards, or rather the inhabitants of North Italy, for the kingdom and separate race of Lombards had long been extinct. These northern Italians, being more civilised, must have produced skilled masons,—a speculation which is suggestive of the *Magistri Comacini*, or masters of Como, whose pre-eminence as builders has been dwelt upon by Mr Hope. In 1203 Pedro de Camba, at Lerida, was called *magister et fabricator operis*—which seems to imply a real architect. So, in France, *ey git Robert de Coucy, maistre de Notre Dame, et de St Nicaise qui trepassa l'an, 1311.* Also at Rouen, *Walter de St Hilaire, cementarius and magister operis, and Alexandre de Bernavel, maistre des œuvres de Massonerie au buillage de Rouen et de cette église, meccxcl.* His tomb in the abbey of St Ouen, shows a young man in a lay habit with compasses.

In Italy the same expression was commonly used, as in the baptistry of Pisa, where we find *Deoti Salvi magister hujus operis.*

The above are taken from Street's "Notes on Gothic Architecture in Spain," and the conclusion that he comes to is, that there is no trace of what is usually known as freemasonry, but that the men whose names are mentioned above were like modern architects, except that they were occasionally employed as contractors for the buildings, besides being paid by the day or year for the superintendence of the same. But this statement, with however great respect it may deserve to be received as emanating from so high an authority, leaves two things untouched: it says nothing as to how or by whom the churches were *designed*, for the evidence to be deducible from the above is not conclusive, and ignores the irresistible tendency of bodies of men, employed in similar pursuits and with common interests, to form bodies for mutual protection and advantage. Street also denies the existence of clerical architects, such as Gundulf, Flambard, and Wykeham, although in a discussion on one of Mr Papworth's papers, about the same time, he reasserts Wykeham's claims, and even denies those of Walsingham. Out of the 127 names in his list, he can find but three who were clerics. Frater Bernardus, of Tarragona, 1256; the monk El Parral, who restored the Roman aqueduct at Segovia—we have already seen that for some unexplained reason the civil engineers of that era were usually monks or priests; and an abbot—though he hardly comes within the scope of the argument—who in the eighth or ninth century rebuilt Leon cathedral; but many of these can scarcely by any stretch be called architects—some were workers in iron, etc.

Peter de Corbie, the friend of Wilars de Honcourt, built several churches in Picardy. The architect of *Notre Dame de Brou* was Maistre Loys van Boghem, and the sculptor Meister Conrad, but this building came very late, having been built by Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Low Countries—whence the architect—and daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, and aunt of Charles V.

The sketch-book of Wilars de Honcourt has been published by MM. Lassus and Willis, and is a most interesting record of the architectural science of this period. Wilars was a native of the Cambresis, and was born in the thirteenth century. His sketch-book shows great power of drawing, both as regards figures, animals, and architecture, though examples of the latter are, unfortunately, in a minority, and these consist mostly of studies, especially from his favourite, Laon. There is scarcely anything of his own, save the very curious design for the east end of a church, inscribed, "Here is a church with a square termination, designed for the Cistercian ritual;" also another, an apse, with nine chapels radiating from it, alternately square and semi-circular, which, according to the inscription, was worked out by Wilars and

his friend De Corbie in a friendly discussion. But both seem to have been ideal, or, at least, never to have been carried out.

Under another is inscribed, "This shows the elevations of the chapels of the church of Rheims. Like them will be those of Cambrai, if they be built."

Elsewhere he says, "I have been in many lands;" and to one of the sketches of windows at Rheims, he says, "I drew this when I was under orders to go into the land of Hungary."

Liberger designed the very perfect church of St Nicaise, Rheims, which was destroyed at the French Revolution; but his tombstone was removed to the cathedral, and we learn from it that he was a layman, and married, as was Pierre de Corbie, who is known to have designed or built several churches in Picardy, and may have been the architect of the apse at Rheims.

Jean de Chelles, 1257, built the gables of the transept and some of the chapels of the choir of Notre Dame at Paris. On the basement of the southern doorway the following inscription is carved in relief:—

"ANNO . DOMINI . MCCLVII . MEUSE . FEBRUARIO . IDUS . SECUNDO .
HOC . FUIT . INCEPTEUM . CHRISTI . GENITRICIS . HONORE .
KALLENSI . LATHOMO . VIVENTE . JOHANNE . MAGISTRO."¹

Etienne Bonneuil, a Parisian, designed and built the cathedral of Upsala, Sweden, after Notre Dame, at Paris; as any one, by a comparison of the drawings, can see for himself. Was he a designer, or rather a mere contractor, with the power of drawing, or at least of paying some one who could?

A brass plate in the floor of Amiens Cathedral, destroyed during the French Revolution, gave Robert de Lugarches, Thomas de Cormont, and his son Regnault as *maistre de l'œuvre*. Pierre de Montereau was the builder of the Sainte Chapelle, and Jean Texier of the beautiful south-western steeple of Chartres, beginning of the sixteenth century. The figures of the *maîtres de l'œuvre* (*magistri opere*, etc.) are often represented abroad, and always in lay habits and with square and compass, *e.g.*, the stalls at Poictiers and the bases in the vaulting at Semur in Auxerrois.²

It is said that real *architects*—in our present sense of that term—appear very early in the Italian records, and this claim will be presently considered. In Germany, besides the statement of a master mason having been granted a house by the chapter,³ and some notices connected with quarrying, we find no satisfactory documentary evidence before 1459. In the Strassburg constitutions of that year we find:—

"If any master accepts a work in contract, and makes a design for the same, how it shall be builded, then he shall not cut anything short of the design, but shall execute it according to the plan which he has shown to the lords, cities, or people, so that nothing be altered."⁴

An American translation of this code refers to the words italicised, in the following

¹ Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française (Architecte)*.

² Cf. A miniature which appears in a "Life of King Offa," written by Matthew Paris (Cottonian MSS., British Museum, Nero, D.1.). In this, King Offa is depicted as giving instructions to the master mason (or architect) employed in the erection of St Alban's Cathedral. The master mason, who by his attire is evidently a layman, has the square and compasses in his left hand. Two masons are at work knocking off the superfluous corners from the stones; one is placing a stone in its proper position; another is adjusting a perpendicular arch on its proper basis by the plumb rule; and two are hoisting up stones by a windlass.

³ Lacomblet, *Urkunden, etc.*, vol. ii., p. 242.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 117, note 5, and p. 121, art. viii.

language:—"Some of these plans are still preserved in Germany, as, for example, the original plan of the cathedral of Strassburg, designed by the architect himself, Erwin von Steinbach."¹

The nationality of this worthy has been questioned by Daruty, who speaks of the origin of Freemasonry having been ascribed to the architects and workmen convoked in 1275, by a French architect, Hervé de Pierrefonds, "of whom the Germans have made Erwin von Steinbach;"² but this suggestion is hardly consistent with the evidence of an inscription above the grand entrance to the cathedral of Strassburg, which, after the lapse of so many centuries, can still be deciphered³—

"ANNO . DOMINI . MCCLXXVIL . IN . DIE . BEATI .
URBANI . HOC . GLORIOSUM . OPUS . INCOHAVIT .
MAGISTER . ERVINUS . DE . STEINBACH."

Yet the "design" named in the German ordinances may, after all, refer to a mere specification.

The only name which can with any certainty be ascribed to the architect of Cologne is Meister Johann, which seems to indicate a plebian origin. Still, whoever he was, he imitated both Rheims and Amiens, and far surpassed his originals, or rather he improved upon them; so that, after all, the old familiar legend of the devil mocking the architect, while designing, with unconsciously copying the above and other churches, may have, as is often the case, some foundation in fact. The true secret of the surpassing beauty of Cologne, over and above its size and unity, is the construction or design, the piling pyramid upon pyramid, so that, viewed from whatever quarter, the whole draws the eye up to a point or apex. After all, it would not very much surprise me to find that the architect of Cologne, if his true parentage ever came to be ascertained, were not at least half a Frenchman. The whole design is very different from the square-shouldered façade of Strassburg, which is certainly true German. The west front is not very unlike, save in size, a German adaptation of Rheims (if the latter had its spires)—more massive, indeed, but not therefore less graceful. Milan is true Gothic engrafted on Italian Romanesque; and this, with many other instances in Spain, and that of Hackett, at Batalha, shows that the architect or designer could have exercised but very little influence, beyond a general superintendence or giving a general idea, over the local school which carried out the buildings.

From all that has been said above, we may feel tolerably certain that the great ecclesiastical edifices abroad were, like those in England, the product partly of lay and partly of clerical architects; the single example of Dunes, in Belgium, which was entirely erected by the monks of that foundation (240 in number) in the first half of the thirteenth century, being obviously so great an exception as to be almost a *lusus naturæ*. Yet the laymen seem to predominate; whether from the fact of the art being more exclusively in the hands of laymen, or because it has merely happened that more of their names have been preserved,—may be doubtful. It is, indeed, contended that the tombstones almost invariably show a man in a lay dress; but this is not conclusive, for there is nothing to prove that these men were the actual

¹ Masonic Eclectic, New York, 1865, vol. i., p. 51. In Sabina, the daughter of Erwin, Fort appears to think that we must look for the earliest Freemason of the gentler sex (The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 81).

² J. E. Daruty, Recherches sur le Rite écossais ancien accepté (Paris, 1879, p. 82).

³ Viollet le Duc, Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture, s.v. Architecte.

designers, or even superintendents. The attempts made to show that the *magistri operum*, etc., were a distinct class fail to meet with success, inasmuch as the word "magister" often occurs in England, where we know that no such pre-eminence is implied; and in so obscure a subject we should be especially on our guard against forced interpretations and fanciful distinctions. It is, however, probable that the majority of them were laymen. The great cathedrals abroad, with their far loftier elevation, the width and boldness of their vaulting—inevitably of stone, the complicated nature of the apses with their double rows of chapels, and the vast and scientific series of flying buttresses and counterpoises which are so highly artificial, required in all probability more scientific skill than could well be expected from any class of men not absolutely in the profession.¹ Indeed, this may well have been the masonic secret, if secret there were, of the mediæval masons. All trades, even to the present day, have their secrets, and the very word "mystery,"² so often used, indicates the jealousy with which each craft guarded the *arcana* of its trade. This must have been still more the case with the masons, who required great scientific skill—and that skill could then only be obtained by oral teaching, actual practice, and rule of thumb. In all the names of writers and their works—some thousands—collected by the laborious authors of the great "Histoire Littéraire de la France," I am not aware of any treatise on practical geometry³ or mechanics, nor do I know of any classical treatise whatever, on the subject of mathematics, having been widely known, save that of Euclid, which will account for the masonic legend concerning him. The committees of architects in Spain, on which Street lays weight, are paralleled by those of *cementarii* at St Albans, Canterbury, and Westminster; and the only real proof we have, out of Italy, of anything like the modern system is the statement of Wikars de Honcourt, attached to one drawing, that he sketched it before proceeding, as he was ordered, to Hungary, and the Frenchmen who were under agreement to proceed to Gerona, as given above. In Italy the case was somewhat different; we seem to know the names of almost all the builders or designers in that country; and "Gaye's Carteggio di documenti inediti,"—being excerpts from the Florentine archives, and which contain most interesting information on the mediæval working classes in Italy,—shows pretty clearly that there really existed what we should call architects in that country, but, then, Italy was their native home. On the whole, I should be inclined to conclude, generally, that out of Italy and during the Middle Ages the class whom we call architects did not—save, perhaps, with very rare exceptions—exist; and that all the buildings we so much admire were the combined work of certain priests and monks educated specially for the work, in conjunction with their master mason, usually attached to the building, as at York—and more often by the master mason alone; but that, when the latter was the case, the master mason was an independent individual; the arrangement last mentioned being more common abroad than in the British Islands. My reasons for this, apart from the data furnished above, I shall

¹ Moreover, the great foreign churches were usually erected after one design, which was not the case in England, except as regards the Norman buildings, which required but little constructive skill.

² Derived by Madox (Firma Burgi) from the French *mestiere* [or *metier*]; the original of which Mr Riley finds in *ministerium*, "a serving to" (Memorials of London, preface, p. 1). Herbert, however, observes, "The preserving of their trade secrets was a primary ordination of all the fraternities, whence arose the names of *mysteries* and *trades*" (Companies of London, vol. i., pp. 44, 45, and 423).

³ Lacombelet specifies "descriptive geometry" as one of the great secrets of early Freemasonry (see *ante*, p. 89, note 3).

proceed to lay before the reader in as condensed a form as possible, only remarking, first, that the Middle Ages were as remarkable for the beauty of their sculpture as for the archaic barbarity of their pictures and colouring, as may be seen by the sculptures at Wells, the exquisite fragments preserved in the Chapter-House at Westminster, and in the engravings of M. Viollet le Duc.¹

Secondly, as somewhat corroborating what I have advanced above as to the "hatching up" of many of our buildings by superintending priests and their master masons, either permanently or temporarily employed, I may point to the numerous perfect and elaborate designs still existing abroad, of which I need only mention (not to speak of the very ancient plan of St Gall, first reproduced by Mabillon)² Cologne, Malines, Ulm, Strassburg, St Waudru at Mons, and Louvaine. Of the latter there exists even a model, although I am unable to say whether it is of an early date; and MM. Varin and Didron found a design for the west front of a cathedral, partially effaced by a list of deceased canons, at Rheims, the last entry being 1270. This design, which is somewhat poor, would seem never to have been properly worked out, and possibly the designer may have grown out of conceit with his sketch before it was finished. In England the most careful researches have only brought to light—(1.) a Norman drawing of the conventional buildings of Canterbury, reproduced by Willis,³ which, after all, is a drawing of what actually existed, and not a design; (2.) a section of the mouldings of a door at St Stephen's, Bristol, in Will of Worcester's "Itinerary," which is also a drawing; (3.) an actual *design* for a very rich tomb for Henry VI, first published in the "Vetusta Monumenta;" and (4.) two drawings of King's College chapel⁴—the first of which, a view showing the elevation of the east and north sides, can scarcely be a design, inasmuch as it shows in the north-east corner a wretched little edifice, with a clock in it, which no human being would have ever thought of *designing* alone, still less of causing it to form part and parcel of a magnificent whole. The second, for a tower, must be a design, inasmuch as it was never executed. We may gather also from the wills of Henry VI, and of Richard, Duke of York, that plans of these intended colleges had been laid before them for approbation, though the drawings themselves have either been lost or have perished. It may indeed be said that the Reformation destroyed these early drawings; but the Reformation struggles, the French Revolution, and the numerous wars to which the Continent has been a prey, must have been at least as destructive; and we may hence conclude that drawings are wanting now in England because they have always been so.

That there was no special class of architects is obvious from several considerations. In the first place, no such minute subdivision existed in the trades and professions of the Middle Ages. It is easy for architects *now* to point to working men and to say that they are incapable of producing any really good work; though I could instance at least one very eminent architect who has risen from the ranks—but this is begging the question. Architects, contractors, and stonemasons formed one corps, of which some, probably with

¹ There were, however, two Italian sculptors in England, Pietro Cavallini and Torel, though they had nothing to do with our great *chef-d'œuvre* at Wells, which was earlier. They have been claimed for England—the former under the name of Peter Caval, which is about equivalent to the famous derivation of Garibaldi, from an Irishman, one Garrett Baldwin, who settled at Genoa, and was known by the name of Garry Baldy! Torel was found at Rome, along with Odorico, by Abbot Ware, 1260.

² Acta Sanct. Ord. St Bened.

³ Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral.

⁴ Brit. Mus., Cotton Collection, Aug. I., vol. i., pp. 2, 3.

greater facilities and a better start, reached the summit, while the greater portion, as is always the case, spent their lives laboriously toiling at the base. It is the question of the purchase system, and the supposed marshal's *bâton* in every French soldier's knapsack, over again. I am not advocating either system; I am only pointing out the difference. It is certainly very strange that, while the names of benefactors, paymasters, treasurers, sacrists, master masons, etc., have been preserved, those of the architects should have been everywhere omitted. The name of the architect appears late, according to Viollet le Duc, who says it is not used to designate a builder until the sixteenth century, before which he was called *maistre de l'œuvre*. This may be so; but "architect," as well as the various words depending on it, are—if I may venture to differ from so high an authority—used earlier than is generally supposed, e.g., *ars architectonica* is used to describe Walsingham's work at Ely in the "Historia Eliensis,"¹ but this does not by any means necessarily imply that the *maistre de l'œuvre* was a personage entirely distinct, as a modern architect would be, from the rest of the building fraternity. Moreover, the actual architect in many cases went under names somewhat corresponding to the medieval designations until a very late period. Sir C. Wren, as we all know, was surveyor-general. Until Wyatville at Windsor and Bunning in the City, their predecessors were always clerks of the works, and so to the last were the architects of the East India Company. R. W. Mylne,² master mason, can be traced in Scotland from the beginning of the fifteenth century. John Aitoun was master mason by royal patent, 1525, and was succeeded by John Brownhill. So at Dundee, a master mason was appointed 1536. But the *principal master mason* was a greater man than the master mason, thus showing a gradation only in the hierarchy and not a distinct class; he was appointed for life, with certain fees and payments, together with liveries. These principals were especially employed about royal residences, and were often men of rank. John Ritchie was master mason of the new Parliament House, Edinburgh, 1633; but the city accounts have the payment of £1000 (*Scots?*) to Sir James Murray, the king's master of the works, for drawing up a "modell." William Wallace, first master mason to Heriot's Hospital, was called *Latomus*, also "Carver," and this designation was frequently used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *Cementarius* does not occur in the early Scotch documents. Some of the early masters were French (as might have been expected both from the poverty of the country and its connection with France)—Mogine Martyne, 1536; Nich. Kay, John Roztell, 1556. The office of master mason under letters patent still exists. It will be observed that these Scotch examples are of comparatively modern date. Mr Kerr in the same discussion³ said that the working masons of Scotland at the present day have a sort of freemasonry among themselves, almost identical, as he was informed, with that of the English fraternity. They had their signs, symbols, and ceremonies, and were, in every sense of the word, "free and accepted masons" among themselves, as working men; and the Scottish trades union thus constituted was, in everything but numbers, more formidable than that of England.

The opinion has been already expressed, that the mediæval builders and designers—

¹ "We account architects in everything more honourable than the manual labourers,—*Χειροτέχνες*, because they understand the reason of what is done, whereas the other, as some inanimate things only do, not knowing what they do—the difference between them being only this, that inanimate things act by a certain habit of nature in them, but the manual labourer by habit" (Aristotle, *Ethics*, lib. i., c. i.).

² Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, December 2, 1861.

³ *Ibid.*

whether called *magistri, maestri, maistres*; whether priests or laymen; or whether a combination of both, *i.e.*, of the highly-cultured and more or less practical amateur and the more or less refined and enlightened master workman, were evidently of a class very different from those whom we are now accustomed to style architects—*autres temps, autres mœurs*—the clergy, or at least some of that body, instead of being mere *dilettanti*, were earnest students and workers; the architects were very closely connected with, and, indeed, often sprang from, the ranks of their workmen. It must never be forgotten that in the Middle Ages, and more especially in the earlier portion of them, matters were not as they are now, for two things are especially characteristic of social progress—one the continued subdivision of labour, the other the increasing power of capital; hence, while at the one end of the scale, the operative was not so very different from the master, so, at the other, the architect was not so very distinct from the artificer.

The fact must not be lost sight of that the primary meaning of architect is “master workman;” and it would appear that architects were formerly such in the original sense of the word, *i.e.*, the artificers arranged their materials according to their needs, giving the forms into which they cast them such beauty, and adding such embellishments as lay in their power. Hence architects embodied as a rule the particular tendencies of their race and age. The Greek architects of the best period were sculptors, and their art was, more or less, plastic; those of the Romans, when they were not Greek *architects*, in the modern and received sense of the term (*rhetoricians* in stone), were, I strongly suspect, civil engineers; and those of the Middle Ages were probably a combination of priest or monk and mechanic, or, to speak more accurately, a partnership between the two, worked for a common end. At the Renaissance, however, Italian or modern architecture took its rise, and in Italy architects seem to have been, at least many of the greatest of their number, painters. Hence arose the school of *designers*, as opposed to that of constructors, *i.e.*, men who sketch out a building on a drawing-board as they would the outline of a picture on a canvas, instead of constructing it, *i.e.*, putting it together, piece by piece, in the most beautiful form, as necessity required. The two methods are totally different, and the latter will, I venture to say, be found very much simpler and easier, besides being very much more effective, than the former.¹ One of the most eminent classical scholars in England expressed the opinion that the only way to write Latin well was to think in Latin, which is, doubtless, true; and the reason is clear. If you think in your own language, the words that flow from your pen are a *translation*—an excellent translation, it may be—but a translation for all that, and all translations are bad. The mediæval builders, then, *thought* in stone, and the result is obvious, inasmuch as most, if not all, modern buildings betray their origin, *i.e.*, having been conceived on paper or a flat surface, and then translated into solid material. This does not necessarily imply that skill in drawing, which is supposed to be essential to the modern architect, nor does it by any means always require professional training. Inigo Jones was

¹ Many architects are equally pattern designers—*e.g.*, Matthew Wyatt has designed carpets for an eminent firm, and one of the greatest of our modern architects, if not the greatest, used to design lace and embroidery patterns for the late Duchess of Sutherland and her daughters. But the great truth should never be forgotten, that true architecture is *decorated construction*, as opposed to *constructed decoration*. This is the real secret and keystone of the whole matter. Mediæval architecture was the first, modern architecture the second—hence the difference, and the comparative failure of the latter.

an artist and a designer of *Masques*; I may add, *en parenthèse*, that his works betray his scenic taste and training, especially the kind of cloister under Lincoln's Inn Chapel; Wren may be best qualified as an F.R.S., though he had certainly travelled and studied in France; Perrault, the designer of the magnificent eastern colonnade of the Louvre, was a physician; Vanburgh was at least as much a play writer as an architect; and both Lord Burlington and Aldridge, dean of Christchurch, were in the last century competent to erect beautiful buildings by their own unaided talents. To turn to the kindred profession of engineering, Rudgerd and Winstanley, the builders of the first two Eddystones, were both silk mercers; Brindley was a blacksmith; Smeaton, a watch and mathematical instrument maker; Telford, a mason; and Stephenson, as we all know, rose from the lowest ranks. To Horne Tooke belongs the original credit of the great cast-iron bridge over the Wear, at Sunderland, a single span, at great height, of 238 feet. The only one of the great early engineers I am able to cite, who was an engineer from his youth up, was Rennie, and he taught himself; he certainly, as far at least as I am informed, could not draw; his son, Sir John Rennie, very little, and yet they designed the finest series of bridges ever imagined or erected; and the Victualling Yard at Plymouth, the combined work of Sir John and his brother, is a building which, for simple grandeur and appropriateness, leaves far behind the works of most professional architects. Taking, again, the extreme end of the scale, we find that it is by no means necessary for a lady to be able to draw patterns and costumes, to have exquisite taste in dress, which she carries out by the aid of milliners and lady's maids, which is something like the relationship of the master mind—whether priest or layman—to his subordinates. Very often this master mind was thoroughly practical; very often, too, the best dressed ladies can make their own dresses; in which case they will, in all probability, direct their subordinates infinitely better and with infinitely better results.

It has often been lamented that the names of so many of these mediæval builders should have perished; and, as before remarked, it has been asserted that they were content to merge their identity from a pious humility which forbade them to exalt their own individuality, and made them content with the furtherance of the divine glory. But a moment's reflection will convince us that, for some reason or another, the names of both architects and engineers are, and always have been, doomed to popular oblivion. The Greek artists are infinitely better known by their sculptures than by their temples, though the evidences of the latter are far more manifest than those of the former. Only one Roman architect, Vitruvius, is really famous, and he owes his celebrity to the fact that, having apparently failed in his profession, he consoled himself, like many more of his brotherhood, by writing a book. Their successors, the great architects of Italy, are, like the Greeks in sculpture, known more for their paintings than their buildings; and even Michael Angelo is more associated with the Sistine Chapel than with St Peter's. Palladio is the only pure Italian architect, whose "name is in everybody's mouth." So it is with France and Germany. In England, beyond Inigo Jones and Wren, Chambers and Barry are the sole popular names. Vanburgh is remembered more for his comedies than for the magnificent palaces of Blenheim and Castle Howard; while if a man can enumerate any of the works of Hawksmoor and Gibbs, of Soane, of Smirke, and of Wyatt, he passes for more than ordinarily instructed in the history of English art. But of all the works with which our country is covered, how few perpetuate their designers' names, and how difficult it is to

recover them, except by a search in obscure guide books and county histories! So it is with engineering. The profession has tended more than any other to make England what she is; it is her constant boast; the country teems with evidences of their skill and energy on every side; and, as a profession, it is little more than a hundred years old, yet how few names readily occur to the ordinary mind! The great Thames bridges are a kind of typical structures which will probably serve to perpetuate the names of their engineers, while the Eddystone is indissolubly connected with Smeaton; but I should think it most probable that in remote ages yet to come, the designer of the old structure will, in process of time, usurp the credit due to the nameless engineer of the Trinity House, from whose plans the new and larger edifice has been erected. Lord Melville will probably enjoy the distinction of having designed the Plymouth Breakwater, until some learned antiquary awards, justly as he thinks, the palm to Mr Whidbey, the resident engineer; while I am pretty certain that George Stephenson will be honoured with the Britannia Bridge; and that the typical New Zealander on his return home, will write a critical essay, conclusively proving that Telford was his subordinate, and that, therefore, the lesser work, the Suspension Bridge, has been falsely attributed to him instead of to his master. It is the same, too, with military engineering. With all the great works of the last three centuries, the names of only two great men—Vauban and Cohorn, and of a few system-mongers—are known even to professionals. In truth, ordinary history troubles itself but little, if at all, with such matters, and is content with mentioning the names of illustrious patrons whenever it condescends even to so much detail. After these examples, we cannot be surprised that the names of the mediæval builders should have been so completely forgotten—it would have been far more a matter of surprise if it had been otherwise. But that they did not purposely conceal themselves is obvious from the great number of names which even the very imperfect search hitherto made has proved sufficient to rescue from oblivion. Still, if the theory be true that the greater part of our own buildings were devised by the master mason, in consultation with some clerical employer, it will be obviously impossible, especially considering the wreck of monastic documents at the Reformation, to rescue the designer's name in the vast majority of instances, for the simple and manifest reason that no regular design by an architect, in our sense of the word, was ever made. But with regard to the Continent it may be otherwise.

As far as I can gather, the "upper ten," so to speak, among the building trades gathered themselves together in more regular and elaborately constituted bodies about the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries in both Germany and England, and at the same time began, in the latter country, to be called Freemasons, though from what that name is derived, and how far the new name was connected with the new organisation, we shall be in a better position to determine, when the statutes relating to the building trades, and the circumstances immediately preceding what, in masonic annals, is termed the "Revival" (1717), have passed under review. Masons' work seems to have become more scientific, as we see from the fan vaulting in England; and Ferguson asserts that the manipulation of stone by the German Freemasons is marvellous, and he inveighs—but with what

truth I know not—against the ill effects produced upon art by the supremacy of this body, like the injurious influence which academies have been often asserted to have had upon literature.¹ Mr Digby Wyatt has expressed an opinion that working masons formerly wandered about in search of work, depending upon the protection which their lodges, grips, and passwords afforded them, and that this custom, after having decayed, was revived again under a somewhat different form by the Freemasons in the fifteenth century; and in this Fergusson agrees with him.² The functions of the *maistre de l'œuvre* in the thirteenth century are difficult to define. There is no document before the fourteenth century, and here “l'architecte n'est appelé que comme un homme de l'art que l'on indemnise de son travail personnel.” Materials, labour, etc., were found by those at whose expense the work was done, *i.e.*, he was not a contractor, which, in England, at least, I suspect he often was. “After the fourteenth century,” Viollet le Duc continues, “the architect lost his importance, and every kind of tradesman was called in to do his share, without one controlling head; hence deterioration followed as a matter of course.”

The mediæval architecture fell from natural causes, like the fall of monasticism and all things mediæval, and the one followed suit on the other. No more churches were built, and hence the builders died out; and with them, to a great extent, I believe, died the skill in arch and vault building which was, perhaps, the great characteristic of the builders of the Middle Ages. I scarcely think that a single stone vault was constructed in the long period between the Reformation and Wren; those of Lincoln's Inn Chapel are plaster, and I am not sure whether the beautiful fan vaulting of the great staircase of Christchurch, Oxford, is not of the same material. The ceiling of the great gallery of Lanhydrock, near Bodmin, in Cornwall, is a plaster vault, with elaborate plaster pendants in the centre. Add to this the great influx of foreign architects, in the modern sense of the word—and, it may be, of foreign masons as well, also the possibility, as I believe, that the Reformation was a much greater revolution than people are aware of—and I have said enough, I trust, to account for the complete and rapid disappearance of mediæval operative masonry, at least in England. Gothic, however, never quite died out; there was an attempt at revival, *temp. James I.* and Charles I., especially at Oxford, and it still lingered in remote country districts till the dawn of the revival under Walpole and Batty Langley. Besides Wren's professedly Gothic imitations at Westminster Abbey, St Michael's, Cornhill, and St Dunstan's in the West, there are traces of Gothic mullions in the tower windows of St Clement Danes. It is curious that the art which fell in England with the fall of Roman Catholicism should have, after lingering with it here and there, commenced to revive almost simultaneously with the dawn of toleration, and have proceeded since *pari passu*—though I am not so foolish as to suppose any real connection.

My review of mediæval operative masonry here terminates. I have carried out to the best of my ability an examination of the whole subject by the buildings themselves, rather than by an exclusive dependence upon books, which, as the literature of Freemasonry may well remind us, is in every way unreliable. I have sought to show the fallacy of the

¹ J. Fergusson, History of Architecture in all Countries, 1865, vol. i., p. 480.

² Cf. The Companionage customs, detailed in chapter v., *ante*; and Viollet le Duc—who says that no certain account of the personality of architects exists before the thirteenth century, and thinks that there must have been schools, and pupils taught by apprenticeship (Dict. Raisonné, tit. *Architecte*).

universal masonic theory ; the errors—more learned and therefore, perhaps, less blameworthy though equally misleading—of the German school ; and, finally, to prove that the operative masons had a much larger share in the construction of these buildings than is usually supposed, inasmuch as they were to a very large extent the actual designers of the edifices on which they worked, and not the mere servants of the ecclesiastics. Some isolated unions of these men, in their later development, which, from causes we cannot trace, contrived to escape the great cataclysm of the Reformation, may have survived in the “Four Old Lodges,” the parents of modern Freemasonry ; and if this supposition is well founded, their descent from the mediæval builders being legitimate, their pride is equally so.

—

CHAPTER VII.

THE STATUTES RELATING TO THE FREEMASONS.



HE only evidence we possess of the existence of Freemasonry in England before the initiation or admission of Elias Ashmole in 1646, lies scattered in the "Old Charges," or "Constitutions," the records of the building trades, and the statutes of the realm.

In preceding chapters I have examined all the manuscripts with which Freemasons have any direct concern, and have sought to trace—but with what success it is for others to determine—the actual designers of those marvels of operative masonry that have come down to us, by means of the mute yet eloquent testimony of the structures themselves, which amply attest the ingenuity, if not in all cases the individuality, of the skilled workmen by whom they were designed.

Since the year 1686, when Dr Plot, in his "History of Staffordshire," cited the stat. 3 Henry VI., c. i., no masonic work which has appeared is without this reference. Yet there is scarcely an instance of the research having extended beyond this particular statute, even to those relating to the same subject matter. The law of 1425 was one of the long series familiarly known as the Statutes of Labourers, which, originating with the Plantagenets, continued in operation until the present century.

The great plague of 1348, and the consequent depopulation, gave origin to the *Ordinance of Labourers*, A.D. 1349, afterwards by stat. 3 Rich. II., st. I., c. viii., made an Act of Parliament or *statute*, and described as stat. 23 Edw. III.

In the twenty-fifth year of the king, the commons complained in parliament that the above ordinance was not observed; wherefore a statute was made ordaining further regulations on the subject. These two enactments will shortly be presented in detail, but before doing so, some observations upon the circumstances which induced the course of legislation it is proposed to review, are requisite.

It has been asserted that the laws we are considering were passed in punishment of the contumacious masons at Windsor Castle, assembled there by Edward III. under the direction of William of Wykeham, the comptroller of the royal works, who refused their wages, and withdrew from their engagements.¹ The king's method of conducting the work has been

¹ Dallaway, Discourses upon Architecture, p. 425.



CHARLES EDWARD DE WEAVER, A.R.T.
— MASONIC MEDALS — CLOTHES (WEED BROS.)

referred to by an eminent writer, as a specimen of the condition of the people in that age.¹ Instead of engaging workmen by contracts and wages, he assessed every county in England to send him a certain number of masons, tilers, and carpenters, as if he had been levying an army.² There were, however, many influences combining to bring into play the full machinery of the legislation it is our purpose to examine. Between the Conquest and the reign of Edward III. there had sprung up a middle class of men, who, although they did not immediately acquire the full power of selling their labour to the best bidder, nevertheless were exempt from the imperious caprices of a master, and the unconditional services of personal bondage.³ From a dialogue, written by Thynne, Lancaster herald, and dedicated to James I, in which the point is discussed, whether the king can confer knighthood on a villein, it would appear that some few of these bondmen still continued after the reign of Queen Elizabeth.⁴ Still the process of manumission had been very general from the twelfth year of Edward III., whose long wars in France obliged him to confer freedom upon many of his villeins, in order to recruit his exhausted armies, and as we have seen, if a bondman could escape the pursuit of his lord for a year, he became free for ever.⁵ With the liberation of the bond handicraftsmen from bondage proper, many of the companies into which they had been ranged passed gradually over into the number of free craft guilds. The freemen of rank and large possessions, who felt themselves powerful enough to secure their own protection, found, as the strong are ever wont to do, their interest to be more in a system of mutual feuds, that is, of free competition among themselves, than in associations and mutual pledges. But the less powerful, the small freemen, sought, as the weak always do, protection for themselves in confederating into close unions, and formed the guilds for that purpose.⁶ The struggle between the rising craft-guilds of London and the body of the citizens has been carefully narrated by Brentano, by whom the triumph of the former over the latter is stated to have been fully achieved in the reign of Edward III. "The privileges which they had till then exercised only on sufferance, or on payment of their fermes (dues), were now for the first time generally confirmed to them by a charter of Edward III. The authorities of the city of London, who had in former times contended with all their might against the craft-guilds, now approved of their statutes; and in the fourteenth century a large majority of the trades appeared before the mayor and aldermen to get their ordinances enrolled. At the same time they adopted a particular livery, and were hence called Livery Companies. Edward III. himself actually became a member of one of them—that of the Linen-armourers—and his example found numerous imitators amongst his successors and the nobility of the kingdom."⁷

The visitation of the "Black death," a dreadful pestilence which first appeared in Asia, and from thence spread throughout the world, brought the opposition between the interests of the working-class and the employers for the first time on a large scale to a crisis. Of the

¹ Hume, History of England, 1822, vol. ii., p. 472.

² Ashmole, History of the Garter, p. 129. Richard III., in 1484, issued a commission to Thomas Daniel, surveyor of his works, "to take and seize for use within this realm as many masons, bricklayers, and other workmen, as should be thought necessary for the hasty expedition of the king's works within the Tower of London and Palace of Westminster" (Stow's London, 1720, vol. i., p. 79).

³ Eden, State of the Poor, 1797, vol. i., p. 12.

⁴ Daines Barrington, Observations on the more Ancient Statutes, 1796, p. 309.

⁵ *Ante*, p. 114.

⁶ Brentano, On the History and Development of Gilds, p. 53.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58. Cf. Herbert, Companies of London, vol. i., pp. 28, 29.

three or four millions who then formed the population of England, more than one-half were swept away. The whole organisation of labour was thrown out of gear. There was a great rise of wages; and the farmers of the country, as well as the wealthier craftsmen of the towns, saw themselves threatened with ruin by what seemed to their age the extravagant demands of the labour class. But sterner measures were soon found to be necessary. Not only was the price of labour fixed by the Parliament of 1350, but the labour class was once more tied to the soil.¹ Even before the reign of Edward I, says Sir F. Eden, "the condition of villeins was greatly meliorated. He was indeed bound to perform certain stipulated work for his lord, generally at sowing time and harvest; but at other times of the year he was at liberty to exercise his industry for his own benefit. As early as the year 1257, a servile tenant, if employed before midsummer, received wages; and in Edward I's reign he was permitted, instead of working himself, to provide a labourer for the lord; from which it is obvious, that he must have sometimes possessed the means of hiring one; and it is natural to suppose that the labourers so hired were not pure villeins, but rather tenants by villeinage, who could assist their neighbours on their spare days, or free labourers, who existed—although, perhaps, not in great numbers—long before the parliamentary notice taken of them in the Statute of Labourers, passed in 1350."²

We thus see, that already fully occupied with foreign conquest and Scottish incursions, the depopulation of the country from the ravages of the "Black death," cast upon Edward the attempted solution of many problems, at once social and political, which it is no disparagement to that great monarch to say that he utterly failed in comprehending.

The regulation of wages has been very generally viewed as a device confessedly framed by the nobility, and if not intended, certainly tending to cramp the exertions of industry.³ Sir Fortunatus Dwarris aptly remarks—"It was easier to enact than to enforce such laws;" and he stigmatises, in terms of much severity, "the machinery employed, to carry into effect an obnoxious, unjust, and *impossible* law."⁴ On the other hand, however, Brentano maintains, "It has become the fashion to represent these wage-regulations as a policy contrived for the oppression of the labourer. To give such a character to these statutes is, however, in my judgment, a complete misrepresentation of the real state of the case. These regulations of wages were but the expression of the general policy of the Middle Ages, which considered that the first duty of the State was to protect the weak against the strong, which not only knew of rights, but also of duties of the individual towards society, and condemned as usury every attempt to take unseemly advantage of the temporary distress of one's neighbour."⁵ The *Cottarii*, or *Coterelli*, according to Spelman, appear to have been much on the same footing with villeins regardant, being employed in the trades of smith, carpenter, and other handicraft arts necessary in the country, in which they had been instructed at the expense of their masters, and for whose benefit they pursued their several occupations.⁶

It is reasonable to conclude, that the new system of working for hire, being more profitable to the great proprietors than the labour of slaves, had, to a great extent, superseded the

¹ J. R. Green, History of the English People, 1877, pp. 429-431.

² Eden, State of the Poor, vol. i., pp. 12-15.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 41; Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations, vol. ii., p. 27; and Hume, History of England, vol. ii., p. 479.

⁴ Sir Fortunatus Dwarris, A Treatise on the Statutes, pp. 866, 867.

⁵ Brentano, On the History and Development of Gilds, p. 78.

⁶ Glossarium Archæologicum.

absolute dependence of workmen upon their employers, at about the period which followed the Great Plague. Yet it is doubted by Eden, whether the owners of the soil fully comprehended the beneficial effects of this important revolution, and he considers it not unnatural that they should have striven to preserve some affinity between the new class of labourers and the old class of villeins, by limiting their earnings, as they had before controlled their persons.¹

Evasions of the statutes were very numerous, as indeed might be expected, for, had the wages fixed by law been adhered to, the pay of a labourer or artificer must have been the same from 1350 to 1370; yet, in the course of that period, the price of wheat per quarter varied from 2s. to £1, 6s. 8d.

"In spite of fines, imprisonment, and the pillory," says Mr Green, "the ingenuity and avarice of the labourers contrived to elude the provisions of the proclamation; during the harvest the most exorbitant wages were demanded and given."²

The statutes from which I shall proceed to quote appear in the first version of these enactments, published by the authority of Parliament, of which volume I., extending to stat. 50, Edw. III., was printed in 1810.

Amongst the numerous difficulties which are encountered in a study of our statute law, its prodigious and increasing development first arrests our attention. "There is such an accumulation of statutes," complains Lord Bacon, "concerning one matter, and they so cross and intricate, that the certainty is lost in the heap." Yet when this complaint was uttered the whole of the statutes of the realm occupied less than three volumes, within which compass it would now be difficult to compress the enormous bulk of legislation which has, in the present day, collected round many special departments of our law.³ Happily, indeed, with the legislation of comparatively recent times we are only indirectly concerned, but the more ancient statutes present some peculiar features of their own, in which, though differing widely from the puzzles that confront us when we essay an interpretation of their modern counterparts, are found sources of equal difficulty and obscurity. The language in which they were enacted or proclaimed varies continually, whilst, if we turn for assistance to the commentaries of sages of the law, these prove for the most part to have been written on imperfect *data*, and before any version of the statutes was published by authority.

Many of the old statutes do not at all express by what authority they were enacted, so that it seems as if the business of making laws was principally left in the hand of the king, unless in instances where the lords or commons felt an interest in promoting a law, or the king an advantage in procuring their concurrence; and in such cases probably it was that their assent was specially expressed.⁴

The statutes appear to have been actually made by the king, with a council of judges and others who were summoned to assist him. "The usual time for making a statute was after the end of every parliament and after the parliament roll was engrossed, except on some extraordinary occasions. The statute was drawn out of the petition and answer, and penned

¹ Eden, State of the Poor, vol. i., p. 40.

² Green, History of the English People, p. 157.

³ Knightley Howman, in Macmillan's Magazine, vol. iv., p. 30. The law relating to the Bank of England alone is spread over several hundreds of statutes, and the mere titles of these statutes fill about two hundred pages of the *statute-book*. The stamp law is in a still more hopeless state of entanglement, and far beyond the power of ordinary diligence to unravel (*Ibid.*).

⁴ Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. ii., p. 228.

in the form of a law into several chapters, or articles, as they were originally termed. The statute being thus drawn up into divers heads or articles, now called chapters, it was shown to the king; and upon his majesty's approbation thereof, it was engrossed—sometimes with a preamble to it, and a clause of 'observari volumus' at the conclusion, and sometimes without any preamble at all—and then by writs sent into every county to be proclaimed.¹ It is evident from the "Mirror of Justice,"² that laws were often made in this way; for the author of that book complains that ordinances are only made *by the king and his clerks*, and by aliens and others who dare not contradict the king, but study to please him.³

The chapters were short, and the manner of expression very often too general and undefined. Offenders were in general directed to be punished "at the king's pleasure, to make grievous ransom to the king, to be heavily amerced," and the like; whilst sometimes—as we shall presently see—the acts are merely admonitory or prohibitory, without affixing any penalties, or prescribing any course of process for prosecuting, hearing, and determining the offences.⁴

Down to the accession of Edward I. the statutes are in Latin, but in the third year of the king they began to be in French also; and from this period to the beginning of the reign of Henry VII., are sometimes in Latin and sometimes in French. From that time the language employed has been uniformly English. Occasionally there occurs a chapter in one language, in the midst of a statute in another; and there is one instance of an article or chapter partly in French and partly in Latin. Attempts have been made by many learned persons to explain this variety of languages in the earlier periods of our legislation. Nothing, however, is known with certainty on this subject, and at the present day it is utterly impossible to account in each instance for the appearance of the statute in French or in Latin. It has been suggested that many of the Latin statutes were first made in French, and from thence translated into Latin;⁵ whilst by Daines Barrington, the continuance of our laws in French from the third year of Edward I. has been attributed to there being a standing committee in parliament to receive petitions from the provinces of France, which formerly belonged to England; and as these petitions, therefore, were in French, and the answers likewise in the same language, a reason was afforded why all the parliamentary transactions should be in French by way of uniformity.⁶ The same commentator perceives a further cause for the statutes being in French, in the general affectation which prevailed at this time of speaking that language, insomuch that it became a proverb, "that Jack would be a gentleman if he could

¹ From a Treatise in the British Museum, intituled, "Expeditionis Billarum Antiquitas," attributed to Elsyng, Deputy-Clerk of the Parliaments, 1620, and later.

² La Somme : Appelle Mirror des Justices, factum per Andrean Horne (of whom it is said in the preface that he wrote the book before the 17 Edw. II.), ch. v.

³ Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. ii., p. 227. "Many inconveniences happened to the subject by the antient form, in framing and publishing of the statutes—viz., sometimes no statute hath been made, though agreed on; many things have been omitted; many things have been added in the statute; a statute hath been made, to which the Commons did not assent, and even to which neither Lords nor Commons assented." See 1 Hale, P. C., 394; 3 Inst., 40, 41; 12 Rep., 57; and Introduction to the Statutes (1810), p. xxxv.

⁴ Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. ii., p. 228; Dwarris, A General Treatise on Statutes, 1830-31, p. 626.

⁵ A Luders, Essay on the Use of the French Language in our Ancient Laws and Acts of State, tract vi., 1810.

⁶ Daines Barrington, Observations on the More Ancient Statutes, 1796, p. 62. "This likewise seems to be the reason of a law's receiving the royal assent in French" (*Ibid.*).

*speak French.*¹ But the strongest reason of all for permitting our laws to be in the French language, Mr Barrington finds in the habit of the English and the inhabitants of the French provinces under our dominion considering themselves in a great measure as the same people. In the opinion of the same authority, "the best general rule which can be given with regard to an act of parliament's being in Latin or French is, that when the interests of the clergy are particularly concerned, the statute is in Latin."² But, as was justly observed by one great legal writer, and adopted by another, this theory would require so many exceptions as almost to destroy the rule.³ "Perhaps," says Mr Reeves, "the legislature was governed by no general principle in choosing the languages of their statutes; both the Latin and the French were the language of the law, and probably were adopted according to the whim of the clerk or other person who drew up the statute."⁴ On the whole, we may perhaps safely conclude that, for a long period of time, charters, statutes, and other public instruments were drawn up indiscriminately in French or Latin, and generally translated from one of those languages into the other before the promulgation of them, which in many instances appears to have been made at the same time in both languages.⁵

It is a curious circumstance that, though the ancient laws of some other European nations are indeed in the Latin language—in which there was a peculiar convenience from the frequent appeals to the Pope—there is no other instance of any country in Europe permitting their laws to be enacted in a *modern European language*, and that not their own.⁶ The ancient ordinances of Scotland are in Latin; those of the Saxons in the Saxon tongue; and the ancient statutes of the Irish Parliament, which began with the Statute of Kilkenny in the reign of Edward II., are in English;⁷ while those of England continued to be in French.

The distinction between statutes and ordinances, which in unsettled times were frequently confounded, is, that the latter want the consent of some one or more of the constituent parts of a parliament. These are the king, lords, and commons.⁸ "Whatever is enacted for law by one, or by two only of the three, is no statute." But though no statute, this is the exact description of an ordinance, which, as Lord Coke expresses it, "wanteth the threefold consent, and is ordained by only one or two of them."⁹ According to the manuscript treatise already cited, an ordinance could not make new or permanent law, nor repeal any statute; but temporary provisions, consistent with the law in force, might be made by way of ordinance,

¹ This proverb is mentioned by Verstegan, in his "Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities," 1673, p. 197. See also Hickes, *Thesaurus*, preface, p. xvii.

² Daines Barrington, *Observations on the More Ancient Statutes*, pp. 62-65.

³ Reeves, *History of the English Law* (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. ii., p. 228; Dwarris, *A Treatise on the Statutes*, p. 627.

⁴ Reeves, *ibid.*

⁵ See *Statutes of the Realm*, Introduction, p. xlvi.

⁶ Barrington, *Observations on the More Ancient Statutes*, p. 60. "The laws of Sweden and Denmark were originally in their own languages, but have within the last century been translated into Latin. The ordinances of Spain are in Spanish. The ancient laws of Sicily are in Latin; as were also those of the other Italian States" (*ibid.*, p. 61).

⁷ Curiously enough, having been subsequently adopted, the use of the French language in statutes was preserved rather longer in Ireland than in England. The statute-roll of the Irish Parliament, 8 Hen. VII., is in French; in those of the 16 and 23 Hen. VII., the introductory paragraphs are in *Latin*; after which follows an act or chapter in *French*; and all the other Acts of the session are in English (Introduction to the Statutes, p. xlii.).

⁸ Dwarris, *A Treatise on the Statutes*, p. 3.

⁹ 4 Inst., 24.

and one ordinance could be repealed by another without a statute.¹ It has been well observed, that when statutes were framed so long after the petition and answer, it is not to be wondered at that they did not always correspond with the wishes of the petitioners, but were modified according to some after-thought of the king's officers who had the care of penning statutes.² The commons often complained of this. It would appear that the parliament, upon the petitions of the commons, exercised two branches of authority, by one of which it legislated or made new laws; by the other, it interpreted the then existing law. It is in this way that the following words of stat. 15, Edw. III., c. vii., are to be understood:—"That the petitions showed by the great men and the commons be *affirmed* according as they were granted by the king; that is to say, some by *statute* (*les pointz adurer par estatut*), and the others by *charter* or *patent*, and delivered to the knights of the shires, without paying anything."³ This clearly indicates that there was another way of settling the law than by *statutes*, and that way must have been by means of the *charters* and *patents* mentioned in the above act. Laws of this sort had no other sanction than the parliament roll, where the answer was written; and these were probably what were called *ordinances*, being of equal force and validity with *statutes*, but less solemn and public, because they were only a declaration, and not an alteration of the law.⁴ Ordinances were never proclaimed by the sheriff, as in the case of statutes, but it was sometimes recommended by the king to the commons—probably by a *charter* or *patent*—to publish them in their county.⁵ A statute was an ordinance, and something more; and therefore, though statutes may sometimes be called ordinances, yet no inattention to language would excuse the converse of the proposition. Though an ordinance could be altered by a statute, yet a statute could not be altered by an ordinance. After all, perhaps, the principal mark of a statute was its being entered on the statute-roll.⁶

⁷ The earliest of the printed editions or collections of the statutes is supposed to have been published before 1481; but it is believed that no complete chronological series, either in their original language, or in English, nor any translation of the statutes from 1 Edw. III.

¹ Expeditionis Billarum Antiquitas. See also Harleian MSS., Nos. 305, 4273, 6585.

² Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. ii., p. 434. In very early times great irregularities prevailed. Thus, at Verneuil, in 1176, a mixed assembly of English and French enacted laws for both countries; some English barons, in all probability, being over on service with the king in France (Dwarris, A Treatise on the Statutes, p. 9).

³ 15 Edw. III., stat. 3, c. vii., A.D. 1341.

⁴ Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. ii., p. 436. "Acts which received the royal assent, and were entered *only* on the parliament roll, and *not* on the statute roll, have been frequently termed ordinances" (Statutes of the Realm, Introduction, p. xxxii.).

⁵ See Introduction to Statutes of the Realm, p. xxxii.; Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. ii., p. 436; and Dwarris, A Treatise on the Statutes, p. 14. According to Lord Coke, "Acts of Parliament are many times in form of charters or letters-patent;" and many such have been inserted in all editions of the statutes. This great lawyer also observes, "There are many Acts of Parliament that be in the rolls of Parliament and never yet printed" (2 Inst., 525; 4 Inst., 50). The method in which the various laws—statutes or ordinances—were proclaimed and notified will again claim our attention, in connection with some remarks by Kloss and other German writers, which latter, I shall show, are based upon a total misapprehension of the tenor and import of our Acts of Parliament.

⁶ Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. ii., p. 437.

⁷ The statements which follow in the text rest upon the authority of the "Introduction to the Statutes of the Realm."

to 1 Hen. VII., appeared before the publication by Berthelet in 1543, of "the statutes in English, from the time of Henry III. to 19 Henry VII. inclusive."¹

No authorised version of the statutes was published until 1810, in which year the first volume of a new edition, drawn up from original records and authentic manuscripts, was printed by command of George III. at the request of the House of Commons.

In the introduction to this work it is stated, that prior to its appearance no complete collection had ever been printed, containing all the matters, which at different times, and by different editors, were published as statutes. The earliest editions of entire statutes were printed at the latter end of the fifteenth century. The statutes of Henry III., Edward I., and Edward II., were not printed entire until the beginning of the sixteenth century, and then in small collections by themselves in their original language. Later editions, which combine the period previous to Edward III., with that of this and subsequent kings, omit the original text of the statutes previous to Henry VII., of which they give translations only. Even the more modern editions—still used in private libraries, and generally consulted by non-legal writers—which, in some instances, insert the original text of the statutes previous to Richard III., from the statute roll and ancient manuscripts, omit the translation of many parts of them; and in other instances, give a translation without the text, and also omit many acts in the period subsequent to Henry VII.

In the words of the learned editors of "The Statutes of the Realm"—"Many errors and inconsistencies occur in all the translations, resulting either from misinterpretation, or from improper omissions or insertions; and there are many antient statutes of which no translation has ever yet been printed."²

The authorised version of the statutes, besides containing many charters not previously printed, affords, in every instance, a faithful transcript from originals or entries thereof, in characters representing the manuscript with its contractions or abbreviations,³ so far indeed, as these could be accomplished by printing types. The translation in each case appears side by side with the words of the original, and all quotations from the statutes which appear in this chapter are made from the text of the authorised version. In some few instances I have ventured to question the accuracy of the translation, but in every such case my reasons for so doing are expressed.⁴

The first enactment which will come under our notice is the law of 1349. As already observed, a great public calamity having thinned the lower class of people, servants and labourers took occasion to demand very extravagant wages; and rather than submit to work upon reasonable terms they became vagabonds and idle beggars. Their number, it is probable,

¹ "I have put every statute in the tonge that it was first written in. For those that were first written in latin or in frenche dare I not presume to translate into English for fear of misseinterpretacion. For many wordes and termes be there in divers statutes, both in latin and in frenche, which be very hard to translate aptly into English" (Epistle or Preface to W. Rastall's Collection, edit. 1557).

² Authorised version, vol. i., Introduction, ch. i., sec. I, p. xxv. It will be seen as we proceed, that each of these defects in the private or unofficial editions of the statutes has misled some of our Masonic historians.

³ In his publication of the Statute of Labourers, 25 Edw. III., stat. ii., Sir F. Eden regrets the absence of circumflexes and other marks of contraction, which occur in the original, and explains "that the modern letter foundries not being supplied with the necessary types to express them, they are unavoidably omitted" (State of the Poor, vol. iii., p. cxlvii.).

⁴ The earliest translation of the Statutes from 1 Edw. III. to 18 Hen. VI. (made apparently in the time of Henry VI. or Edward IV.) is to be found in the Harleian MSS., 4999, British Museum.

being largely augmented by the gradual emancipation of the villeins, which had been proceeding ever since the Conquest; and who, before the end of Edward III.'s reign, were sufficiently powerful to protect one another, and to withhold their ancient and accustomed services from their lord.¹ It was found necessary to take some compulsory method in order to reduce the poorer classes to subordination; and an ordinance was therefore made by the king and council, to whom it was thought properly to belong as an article of police and internal regulation, especially as the parliament were prevented from sitting by the violence of the plague.²

Having regard to the importance of the *ordinance* of 1349, and the *statute* of the following year—comprehensively described as the “Statutes of Labourers”—each chapter or section will be noticed; two only, however, chapters 5 in the earlier and 3 in the later act, being given in their entirety.³

I. THE ORDINANCE OF LABOURERS,⁴ A.D. 1349.

The necessity of the regulations embodied in this Ordinance is thus vindicated in the preamble:—

“Because a great part of the people, and especially of workmen and servants, late died of the pestilence, many seeing the necessity of masters and great scarcity of servants, will not serve unless they may receive excessive wages, and some rather willing to beg in idleness than by labour to get their living.”

1. Every man and woman, free or bond, able in body, and within the age of threescore years, not living in merchandise, nor exercising any craft, nor having of his own whereof he may live, shall be bound to serve for the wages accustomed to be given in the twentieth year of our reign, or five or six common years before. The Lords to be preferred before other in their bondmen or land tenants, but to retain no more than may be necessary for them; and if any such man or woman will not serve, that proved by two true men before the sheriff, bailiff, lord, or constable⁵ of the town where the same shall happen to be done, he shall be committed to the next gaol.

2. If any reaper, mower, or other workman or servant, do depart from service without reasonable cause or licence before the term agreed, he shall have pain of imprisonment, and that none under the same pain presume to receive or to retain any such in his service.

3. That no man pay, or promise to pay, any servant any more wages than was wont.

4. If the lords of the towns or manors presume to in any point to come against this Ordinance, then pursuit shall be made against them for the treble pain paid or promised by them.

5. “Item, that saddlers, skinners, whitetawers, cordwainers, taylors, smiths, carpenters,

¹ Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. ii., p. 272; Eden, State of the Poor, vol. i., p. 30.

² Reeves, *ibid.*; Barrington, Observations on the More Ancient Statutes, p. 264.

³ Each statute, of which a summary is given in the text, will be distinguished by a number, to which subsequent reference will be made within a parenthesis.

⁴ Edward III. (*Latin*).

⁵ Vicecomiti, ballivo, domino, aut constabulario ville. In earlier printed copies *ballivo* is turned into *ballivis Domini Regis*, and the translation is made to read, “Sheriff, or the bailiffs of our sovereign lord the king, or the constables of the town,” etc. Daines Barrington says—“The word *dominus* I should conceive to mean lord of the manor” (Observations on the more Ancient Statutes, p. 265).

masons (*cementarii*), tilers, boatmen, carters, and all other artificers and workmen, shall not take for their labour and workmanship above the same that was wont to be paid to such persons the said twentieth year, and other common years next before, as afore is said, in the place where they shall happen to work; and if any man take more, he shall be committed to the next gaol, in manner as afore is said."

6. Butchers, fishmongers, hostellers, brewers, bakers, pulters, and all other sellers of all manner of victual, shall be bound to sell the same for a reasonable price.

7. Because that many valiant beggars refuse to labour, none, upon the said pain of imprisonment, shall give anything to such.

The conclusion of this ordinance, styled by Barrington "the last chapter," but not numbered in the copy before me, disposes in a somewhat unusual manner of the penalties imposed by a preceding part of the law; they are not given to the informer, as in more modern times, to enforce the execution of a statute, but in aid of *dismes* and *quinzimes* granted to the king by the commons.¹

Whether the neglect of this ordinance arose from this improper distribution of the penalty, or more probably from the severity of the law, the parliament, two years afterwards, attempted to carry it into more rigorous execution, and likewise added some new regulations, fixing the price of not only the wages of the labourer, but almost every class of artisan.²

II. THE STATUTE OF LABOURERS.³ A.D. 1350.

1. That carters, ploughmen, shepherds, swineherds, *deies*,⁴ and all other servants, shall take liveries and wages accustomed in the said twentieth year, or four years before; and that they be allowed⁵ to serve by a whole year, and not by the day; and that none pay in the time of sarding or haymaking but a penny the day; and that such workmen bring openly in their hands to the merchant towns their instruments, and these shall be hired in a common place, and not privy.

2. That none take for the threshing of a quarter of wheat or rye over ii d. o.b.; and that the same servants be sworn two times in the year before lords, stewards, bailiffs, and constables of every town,⁶ to hold and do these ordinances; and that none of them go out of the town, where he dwelleth in the winter, to serve the summer, if he may serve in the same town; and that those who refuse to make such oath, or to perform that they be sworn to or have taken upon them, shall be put in the stocks by the said lords, stewards, bailiffs, and constables of towns, or sent to the next gaol.

¹ Sir F. Dwarris says:—"That because it was found that people would not sue for the forfeiture against servants and workmen for taking more than the appointed wages, it was afterwards ordained that such forfeiture should be assessed by the king's officers, to go in alleviation of the charges to be levied on the township" (A Treatise on the Statutes, p. 866).

² Barrington, Observations on the More Ancient Statutes, p. 265.

³ 25 Edw. III., stat. 2 (*French*). The preamble of this statute recites, that the previous ordinance has been ineffectual, and that servants require "double or treble of that they were wont to take in the said twentieth year."

⁴ *Deyes* were the lowest class of servants in husbandry. They seem to have been employed either at the dairy or in tending swine.

⁵ "Huyred" in Harleian MSS., 4999.

⁶ Seigneurs, seneschals, bailiffs et constables de chescune ville. It by no means follows that because *Dominus* in the "Ordinances" (I.), and *Seigneur* in the "Statute" (II.) of Labourers, are both translated *lord*, that the same class of persons is alluded to in each instance. According to Barrington, the *French* original is derived from *senior*, age formerly

3. "Item, that carpenters, masons, and tilers, and other workmen of houses,¹ shall not take by the day for their work, but in such manner as they were wont; that is to say, a master carpenter iii d., and another ii d.; a master freestone mason (*mestre mason de franche pere*)² iiiii, and other masons iii d., and their servants i d., ob.; tylers iii d., and their knaves (*gareconos*)³ i d., ob.; plasterers and others workers of mud walls, and their knaves, by the same manner, without meat and drink, i s. from Easter to Saint Michael, and from that time less, according to the rate and discretion of the justices,⁴ which should be thereto assigned; and that they that make carriage by land or water shall take no more for such carriage to be made than they were wont the said xx year, and iiiii years before."⁵

4. That cordwainers and shoemakers shall not sell boots and shoes, nor none other thing touching their mystery, in any other manner than they were wont; that goldsmiths, saddlers, horse-smiths, sporriers, tanners, corriers, tawers of leather, taylors, and other workmen, artificers and labourers, and all other servants here not specified, shall be sworn before the justices, to do and use their crafts and offices in the manner they were wont to do the said xx year, and in the time before, without refusing the same because of this ordinance; and if any of the said servants, labourers, workmen, or artificers, after such oath made, come against this ordinance, he shall be punished by fine and ransom, and imprisonment, after the discretion of the justices.

5. That the said stewards, bailiffs, and constables of towns be sworn to inquire of all them that come against this ordinance, and to certify the justices of their names, so that they make fine and ransom to the king, and moreover be commanded to prison, there to remain till they have found surety to serve and do their work, and to sell things vendible in the manner aforesaid. And that the same justices have power to enquire and make due punishment of the said ministers, labourers, workmen, and other servants; and also of hostlers, harbergers, and of those that sell victual by retail, or other things here not specified.

6. That no sheriffs, constables, bailiffs and gaolers, the clerks of the justices, or of the

giving the only rank and precedence. The use of the word *seigneur* in the present statute imports nothing further than that he shall be a man of consequence.

¹ "Carpenters, masons, teglers and autres coverours des mesons."

² *Master Mason of free stone*, Harleian MSS. Printed translations of the statutes (prior to 1810) convert the phrase into *Freemason*, which has misled Kloss and other German writers, notably Findel, who states (Hist. of Freemasonry, p. 79) that the word "*Freemason*" occurs for the first time in the statute under review.

³ *Knave* was formerly very commonly used to signify a servant, or workman's boy. It occurs in this sense in the "Regiam Majestatem," and was probably the usual term for an agricultural labourer in Shakespeare's time :

"A couple of Ford's *knaves*, his hinds."

—*Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act iii., sc. 5.

In the constitutions of the guild of Peltiers, Norwich (fourteenth century), a boy is described as a *knave chyld* (Smith's Gilds, p. 30); and in the earliest known translation of the statute under examination, the word *garecon* is rendered as *boy* (Harleian MSS., 4999).

⁴ Even so late as the thirty-sixth year of Charles II. (1685), the magistrates of Warwickshire set an assize for the masons as for other artisans. A *Freemason* was to take 1s. 4d. a day without board, and 6d. with. Penalty for taking above this rate, twenty-one days' imprisonment (Archæologia, vol. xi., p. 208).

⁵ Three years later (1353), the Legislature proceeded a step further, and authorised magistrates to regulate the rents of houses in towns where the wool-staple was held, 27 Edw. III., stat. ii., c. xvi., and the price of iron, 28 Edw. III., c. v. (1354).

sheriffs, nor other ministers whatsoever, take anything for the cause of their office of the same servants for fees, suit of prison, nor in other manner.

7. That the said justices make their sessions in all the counties of England at the least four times a year—that is to say, at the feast of the Annunciation of our Lady, Saint Margaret, Saint Michael, and Saint Nicholas; and also at all times that shall need, according to the discretion of the said justices; and if any of the said servants, labourers, or artificers do flee from one county to another, the sheriffs of the county where such fugitive persons shall be found shall do them to be taken at the commandment of the justices of the counties from whence they shall flee; and that this ordinance be holden and kept, as well in the city of London as in other cities and boroughs, and other places throughout the land, as well within franchises as without.¹

This statute was always held to apply only to those who worked with their hands.² It is somewhat singular that a large number of the cases preserved in the year books had reference to chaplains. In an action against one of this class, it was contended that, though retained for a year to do divine service, the defendant had departed within the year, and it was held that the writ was not maintainable by the statute, “for you cannot compel a chaplain to sing at mass, for at one time he is disposed to sing, and another not; wherefore you cannot compel him by the statute.”³ In another case the defendant pleaded that he was retained to collect rents, and so was not a labourer, which was held to be a good plea.⁴

The commission to execute the statute of labourers was usually directed to the same persons who were in the commission of the peace; the due ordering of such persons as were the objects of this statute being one of the most important articles in the police of the county.⁵

“From the 25th of Edward the Third,” says Sir F. Eden, “the laws concerning wages and other visionary regulations, which, however impracticable, were perseveringly adhered to by successive legislatures, afford us the means of tracing, with chronological exactness, the variations either of improvement or of deterioration in the condition of labourers for hire,⁶ who may now be considered as the persons composing that class by which the works of agriculture, of handicraft trades, or of manufacture were carried on.”

III. In 1360 the Statute of Labourers received parliamentary confirmation, and its observance was enforced under stronger penalties. Labourers were declared no longer punishable by “fine and ransom,” and the Lords of Towns were empowered “to take and

¹ This chapter of the statute appears to have been disregarded, as we meet with the following new law in 1357:—“It is accorded that the statute of labourers be as well holden in the city and suburbs of London, and in the Five Ports (*Cynk ports*), and all manner other franchises, as elsewhere in England” (31 Edw. III., stat. I., c. vii.).

² Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. ii., p. 274.

³ Year-book, 10 Hen. VI., fol. 8, p. 30. In 1362, Edward III., at the prayer of the commons, who complained that priests had become very dear (*trop chiers*) after the pestilence, ordained, “that if any secular man of the realm pay more than five marks to any priest yearly, he shall pay to the king fully as much as he paid to the said priest” (36 Edw. III., c. viii.). The chantry-priests were not much respected.

⁴ Year-book, 19 Hen. VI., fol. 53.

⁵ Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. ii., p. 276 (XVII.).

⁶ Dr George Kloss, in his exhaustive review of the statutes of labourers (*Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*) deduces the erroneous conclusion, “that the Freemasons and builders in general, as also the other handicraftsmen and wage-earning classes in England, were serfs and bound to the soil.”

imprison them for fifteen days.”¹ Fugitive labourers and artificers absent either from their work or their places of abode, were “to be burnt in the forehead with the letter F in token of Falsity,”²—i.e., of having broken the oath they were compelled to take under the previous statute; and magistrates were directed, in case they fled into towns, to deliver them up, under penalty of £10 to the king and £5 to the masters who should reclaim them.³ Wages were again regulated. None whatever were to be taken on the festival days,⁴ and it was declared,⁵ “That as well carpenters and masons (*Muceons*) be comprised in this ordinance, as all other labourers, servants and artificers; and that the carpenters and the masons take from henceforth wages by the day, and not by the week, nor in other manner; and that the chief masters (*chiefs mestres*) of carpenters and masons take fourpence by the day, and the other threepence or twopence, according as they be worth; and that all alliances and covines of masons and carpenters, and congregations, chapters, ordinances, and oaths betwixt them made, or to be made, shall be from henceforth void and wholly annulled;⁶ so that every mason and carpenter, of what condition that he be, shall be compelled by his master to whom he serveth to do every work that to him pertaining to do, or of free stone, or of rough stone; and also every carpenter in his degree; but it shall be lawful to every Lord or other, to make bargain or covenant of their work in gross, with such labourers and artificers when please them, so that they perform such works well and lawfully according to the bargain or covenant with them thereof made.”

In this statute (and not before) a standing authority to hear and determine, and to take sureties for good behaviour, was given to “the keepers of the peace;”⁷ but it is afterwards, in the stat. 36 Edw. III., stat. I., c. xii., that they are styled *justices*. The last-mentioned statute enacts that in the commissions of justices of the peace, *and of labourers*,⁸ express mention should be made that they hold their sessions four times in the year; but it was expressly and properly declared in the 34 Edward III., that besides the most worthy persons in the county—(*des meultz rauiez*)—the commission should include “some learned in the law.”

With the exception of Dr George Kloss, this statute has been singularly neglected by masonic writers, and yet, as Mr Papworth long since pointed out, it presents very instructive features.⁹ The “alliances, covines, and chapters” I shall, however, pass over for the time being, as they can be more conveniently discussed in connection with the subsequent legislation of the year 1425.

¹ 34 Edw. III. (*French*), c. ix.

² *Ibid.*, c. x.

³ *Ibid.*, c. xi. Equivalent to £16, 10s. and £23, 5s. of our present money. To promote the execution of these provisions, it was ordained, by stat. 36 Edw. III., c. xiv., that the fines and amerciements arising from the penalties inflicted upon “artificers, servants, and other labourers,” instead of going into the exchequer, should be distributed among the inhabitants by the collectors.

⁴ 34 Edw. III. (*French*), c. x.

⁵ *Ibid.*, c. ix.

⁶ “Et que totes alliances et Covignes des Maceons et Carpenters, et Congregacions Chapitres ordinances, et sermentz entre eux faites ou affaires, soient desore anentiz et anullez de tout.”

⁷ 34 Edw. III., c. i.

⁸ It is probable, though the laws of this period are silent on the subject, that rates of wages, and the prices of provisions, were regulated by the magistrates very much at their discretion. In the tenth year of Richard II. several knights were appointed to make proclamation in the county of Cambridge (and, probably in other counties), that no graziers, or sellers of cattle or horses, etc., should sell them at a higher price than usual (Blomefield, History of Norfolk, vol. iv., p. 725).

⁹ Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1861-62.

The object of this statute seems to have been to benefit the master, rather than the servant, by fixing a maximum for wages; and although it pointed out a mode by which its provisions might be avoided, by making it lawful "to every lord or other to make bargain or covenant of their work in gross with such labourers and artificers when please them," it has been conceived that it was only optional in the *master* to adopt this mode of hiring, and that the labourer or artificer was obliged to work for the statute wages, by the day or the year, unless his employer could persuade him to work by the piece for less.¹

At this point, it may be conveniently observed, that in the building trades of the Middle Ages there were fewer persons who carried on the industry on their own account, and a greater number of dependent workmen than in the other trades. The ordinances of the London masons point to relations such as are still greatly abhorred by workmen of the present day; and naturally, those relations led then to the same differences between workmen and their employers as they lead now.² "Thus," says Brentano, "in England the royal mandate as to the workmen who had withdrawn from the works at the Palace of Westminster tells us of a strike amongst the workmen in the building trades; and the two laws enacted there in the Middle Ages against combinations, congregations, and chapters of workmen—the 34th Edward III., c. ix. (III.), and 3d Henry VI., c. i. (XVI.), were directed against workmen in the building trades only."³

IV.⁴ REGULATIONS FOR THE TRADE OF MASONS, 30 EDWARD III., A.D. 1356.⁵

⁶ "At a congregation of mayor and aldermen, holden on the Monday next before the purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (2d February), in the thirtieth year of the reign of King Edward III., etc., there being present Simon Fraunceys, the mayor, John Lovekyn, and other aldermen, the sheriffs, and John Little, Symon de Benyngtöne, and William de Holbeche, commoners, certain articles were ordained touching the trade of masons, in these words,—

⁷ 1. ⁸ "Whereas Simon Fraunceys, Mayor of the City of London, has been given to understand that divers dissensions and disputes have been moved in the said city, between the masons who are hewers, on the one hand, and the light masons and setters on the other: because that their trade has not been regulated in due manner by the government of folks of their trade in such form as other trades are; therefore the said mayor, for maintaining the peace of our Lord the King, and for allaying such manner of dissensions and disputes, and for nurturing love among all manner of folks, in honour of the said city, and for the profit of the common people, by assent and counsel of the aldermen and sheriffs, caused all the good folks of the said trade to be summoned before him, to have from them good and due information how their trade might be best ordered and ruled, for the profit of the common people.

2. "Wherupon the good folks of the said trade, chose from among themselves twelve of the most skilful men of their trade, to inform the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, as to the

¹ Eden, State of the Poor, vol. i., p. 37. Cf. the Statutes of the London Masons, which follow in the text, and ante pp. 121 (art. viii.), 135 (paragraphs 3-7), and 318.

² Brentano, on the History and Development of Gilds, p. 81.

³ Ibid.; and Riley, p. 271.

⁴ Continued in the numeration, although not a statute of Parliament.

⁵ H. T. Riley, Memorials of London and London Life, in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries, 1868, pp. 280-282 (*Latin and Norman-French*).

⁶ In Latin.

⁷ Paragraphs not numbered in original.

⁸ In French.

acts and articles touching their said trade,—that is to say, Walter de Sallynge, Richard de Sallynge, Thomas de Bredone, John de Tyrngtöne, Thomas de Gloucestre, and Henry de Yevele,¹ on behalf of the masons' hewers; Richard Joye, Simon de Bartone, John de Estone, John Wylot, Thomas Hardegray, and Richard de Cornewaylle, on behalf of the light masons and setters; the which folks were sworn before the aforesaid mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, in manner as follows,—

3. "In the first place, that every man of the trade may work at any work touching the trade, if he be perfectly skilled and knowing in the same.

4. "Also, that good folks of the said trade shall be chosen and sworn every time that need shall be, to oversee that no one of the trade takes work to complete if he does not well and perfectly know how to perform such work, on pain of losing, to the use of the commonality, the first time that he shall, by the persons so sworn, be convicted thereof, one mark; and the second time, two marks; and the third time, he shall forswear the trade for ever.

5. Also, that no one shall take work in gross,² if he be not of ability in a proper manner to complete such work; and he who wishes to undertake such work in gross, shall come to the good man of whom he has taken such work to do and complete, and shall bring with him six or four ancient men of his trade, sworn thereunto, if they are prepared to testify unto the good man of whom he has taken such work to do, that he is skilful and of ability to perform such work, and that if he shall fail to complete such work in due manner, or not be of ability to do the same, they themselves, who so testify that he is skilful and of ability to finish the work, are bound to complete the same work well and properly at their own charges, in such manner as he undertook; in case the employer who owns the work shall have fully paid the workman.³ And if the employer shall then owe him anything, let him pay it to the persons who have so undertaken for him to complete such work.

6. Also, that no one shall set an apprentice or journeyman to work, except in presence of his master, before he has been perfectly instructed in his calling: and he who shall do the contrary, and by the person so sworn be convicted thereof, let him pay, the first time to the use of the commonality, half a mark, and the second time one mark, and the third time 20 shillings; and so let him pay 20 shillings every time that he shall be convicted thereof.

7. Also, that no one of the said trade shall take an apprentice for a less time than seven years, according to the usage of the city; and he who shall do to the contrary thereof, shall be punished in the same manner.

8. Also, that the said masters so chosen, shall oversee that all those who work by the day shall take for their hire according as they are skilled, and may deserve for their work, and not outrageously.

9. Also, if any one of the said trade will not be ruled or directed in due manner by the persons of his trade sworn thereunto, such sworn persons are to make known his name unto the mayor; and the mayor, by assent of the aldermen and sheriffs, shall cause him to be

¹ "On the east side of this Bridge Warde haue yee the fayre Parrish church of S. Magnus, in the whiche church haue beeне buried many men of good worship, whose monumentes are now for the most part utterly defaced. I find Henrie Yevele, Freemason to Edwarde the thirde, Richarde the second, and Henry the fourth, who deceased 1400, his monumentes yet remaine[n]t" (A Survey of London, written in the year 1598, by John Stow, p. 167).

² Wholesale, or by contract.

³ Meaning the contractor.

chastised by imprisonment and other punishment, that so other rebels may take example by him, to be ruled by the good folks of their trade.

10. Also, that no one of the said trade shall take the apprentice of another, to the prejudice or damage of his master, until his term shall have fully expired, on pain of paying, to the use of the commonalty, half a mark each time that he shall be convicted thereof."

V. Reverting to the parliamentary statutes, we find that the Legislature, having failed in controlling the wages of industry, next attempted, by statutes equally impracticable, to restrict the workman in the disposition of his slender earnings.¹ In the year 1363² several laws were passed for the regulation of the diet and apparel of servants, artificers, and yeomen (*yomen*), and it was enacted that merchants should deal in one sort only of merchandise, and that handcraftsmen should use only one trade, which they were to choose before the next Candlemas.³ "This," says Brentano, "was a legal recognition of the principle of the trade policy of the craftsmen, namely, that provision should be made to enable every one, with a small capital and his labour, to earn his daily bread in his trade freely and independently, in opposition to the principle of the rich, freedom of trade."⁴

VI. The Statute of Labourers was again confirmed in 1368;⁵ and the jealousy with which the increasing efforts of the handcraftsmen, to free themselves, from the restrictive fetters imposed upon them by the Legislature, was regarded, is curiously illustrated by an enactment of the following year, wherein, at the request of the "Black Prince," whose revenue in his principality of Guiou had been diminished by a law limiting the exportation of wines into England to aliens, it was decreed "that all Englishmen, Irishmen, and Welshmen, *that be not artificers*, may pass freely into Gascoigne, to fetch wines there."⁶

VII. Richard II. was but eleven years old when he became King of England, on the death of his grandfather. The first statute of this reign recites that the villeins (*villeyns*) and land-tenants in villeinage had assembled riotously in considerable bodies, endeavouring, by the advice of certain evil counsellors and abettors, to withdraw their services from their *lords*, not alone those which they owed to him by tenure of their lands, but also the services of their bodies; that they chiefly attempted to evade these services under colour of certain exemplifications from *Domesday-Book*, with relation to the manors and towns in which they lived; and that, by false interpretation of these transcripts, they claimed to be entirely free. The statute, therefore, enacts that commissions shall issue under the Great Seal, upon application of any lord (*seignur*), to inquire into the offences of these refractory villeins; and that they

¹ Eden, State of the Poor, vol. i., p. 37.

² 37 Edw. III., c. viii.-x. In this statute the word *garsons* is rendered as *grooms*, which again in the oldest existing translation (Harleian, No. 4999) gives place to *boies*. In a note upon the word "Yomen," Mr Riley (Memorials of London, p. 542) observes "that it may have been intended as an abbreviation of the words 'yong man,' equivalent to *garco* and *valetus*." Brentano says:—"The word is identical with the German, *Gesselle*, *Junggeselle*. 'Junggeselle' means bachelor, a term very often used for 'yeoman' (History and Development of Gilds, p. 82). The 20 Rich. II., c. i. (1396-97), speaks of "varlets called yeomeu" (*vadletz appellez yomen*). See also Herbert, Companies of London, vol. ii., p. 652; and *post*, i., pp. 363, 364, 370.

³ 37 Edw. III., c. v., vi. The restriction placed on the merchants was removed in the following year.

⁴ Brentano, on the History and Development of Gilds, p. 60.

⁵ 42 Edw. III., c. vi.

⁶ 43 Edw. III., c. ii. (1369).

shall be immediately committed to prison, without bail or main-prize, if their lords shall so insist. With regard to the exemplifications from *Domesday*, it is likewise declared that the offering them in evidence shall not be of any advantage to him who shall so produce them.¹ Nothing could be more severe than this law in every part of it; and we find, by different records in Rymer, that this oppression was in reality the occasion of the famous insurrection under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, as well as the great opposition to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; aided, it may well have been, by the poll-tax of three groats imposed in 1380 upon both sexes above the age of fifteen. This assessment was a heavy exaction upon the poor, many of whom were ill-used bondmen; and the harsh and brutal manner in which it was collected made it still more hateful.²

If we follow Barrington, the minor king had been advised, by one part of his Council, to increase the power of the lower people,³ and to lessen that of the barons; in consequence of this a proclamation was issued, which among other things directed, “quod nulla acra terra quae in *bondagio* vel *scravigo* tenetur, altius quam ad quatuor denarios haberetur; et si qua ad minus antea tenta fuisset, in posterum non exaltaretur.”⁴ John of Gaunt put himself at the head of the baron's faction, and procured a repeal of this proclamation in the year following.⁵

The tenure of villeinage, which the insurrection of 1381 operated powerfully in diminishing,⁶ though extremely burdensome to the villein, was of little advantage to the master. The produce of a large estate was much more conveniently disposed of by the peasants themselves who raised it, than by the landlord or his bailiff, who were formerly accustomed to receive it. A commutation was therefore made of rents for services, and of money—rents for those in kind; and as men in a subsequent age discovered that farms were better cultivated where the farmer enjoyed a security in his possession, the practice of granting leases to the peasants began to prevail, which entirely broke the bonds of servitude, already much relaxed from the former practices.⁷

As half the lands in England were anciently held by the tenure of villeinage, it is not more remarkable as a fact, that this tenure (and *status*) should have entirely passed away, without being abolished by any statute, than that its decline should have been so insensible, that historians and antiquaries, with the utmost diligence, can very faintly trace its declension.

¹ 1 Rich. II., c. vi., 1377 (*French*). In 1385 a law was passed to the effect that lords should not be forebarred of their villeins through the latter fleeing into cities and suing their owners, 9 Rich. II., c. ii.

² Many of the serfs or villeins had already been made free by becoming copy-holders, or even by escaping from thraldom, and living a year and a day within the walls of a town; but this only served to excite the envy of the rest (Chepwall, *Short Course of History*, p. 183). The city records, under date 25th April 1288, contain a claim by the Earl of Cornwall and another, upon five persons as their bondmen born, of whom they were seised until one month before the day of St Michael (29th September) 1287, when they ran away. And they ask that they be not admitted to the freedom of the city (Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 24).

³ In the fifteenth year of this king, the barons petitioned that no *villein* should send his son to school; to which the king gave the proper and dignified answer: “*Le roy s'avisera*” (Barrington, *Observations on the More Ancient Statutes*, p. 300; Dwaris, *A Treatise on the Statutes*, p. 878).

⁴ Barrington, *Observations on the More Ancient Statutes*, p. 300.

⁵ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii., pt. iii., p. 124.

⁶ “The language of Wat Tyler's followers bespeaks men not unacquainted with the essential requisites of rational liberty” (Eden, *State of the Poor*, vol. i., p. 53). “They required from the king a general pardon, *the abolition of slavery*, freedom of commerce in market-towns without toll or impost, and a fixed rent on lands, instead of the services due by villeinage” (Hume, *History of England*, 1822, vol. ii., p. 9).

⁷ Hume, *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 295.

to that period, when it suited the mutual convenience of the lord and the vassal to drop the servile tenure.¹

These considerations are of some importance, as there can be little doubt that the earliest laws as to artificers, labourers, and vagrants, had reference to the state of villeinage or serfdom, and the efforts of the villeins to escape from it.² The earliest vagrants were villeins; and the villeins were constantly wandering away from their lords in order to escape the bondage of forced labour, which brought no profit to themselves, for even property, the result of their own labour, could be seized by their lords; and hence it was not to be wondered at that they should in various ways try to escape so hard a thraldom, and that many of them should lapse into a state of vagrancy. Vagabondage, in short, grew out of villeinage, and these laws arose out of vagabondage. The result of it was, that the lords found their own villeins, to whose labour they had a right, constantly lost, while they were surrounded by numbers of vagrants, most of whom, there could be little doubt, were villeins of other lords. The process of seeking for and reclaiming the villeins was troublesome and costly; and instead of it parliament passed these acts as to labourers and others, the effect of which was to enable the lords to put vagrants to labour, as a substitute for the loss of the labour of their villeins.³

The condition of the times, and the turn of manners which prevailed towards the close of the fourteenth century, made it desirable and necessary for great lords to supply the defection in their villeins and land-tenants⁴ by other expedients. It accordingly had become the custom to *retain* persons in their service to be at call when their lord's affairs needed their support; and in order to distinguish different partisans, as well as to give a splendour to such retinue, they used to dress them in *liveries*, and *hats*⁵ of a particular make or colour. Men openly associated themselves, under the patronage of some great baron, for their mutual defence. They wore public badges, by which their confederacy was distinguished. They supported each other in all quarrels, iniquities, extortions, murders, robberies, and other crimes.⁶ Besides those who were retained by great men, *fraternities* used to be formed of

¹ Barrington, Observations on the More Ancient Statutes, p. 301; Dwarris, A Treatise on the Statutes, p. 878. See also Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. iii., pp. 584, 587; Eden, State of the Poor, vol. i., pp. 30, 60; and Hume, History of England, vol. ii., pp. 9, 295.

² Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. iii., p. 587. "These laws as to labourers contained in them the germ of a principle which was thence transferred to the poor laws—the principle of fixing the poor as much as possible to the soil on which they were born, and of forcibly removing them thereto if they wandered. The origin of this principle, and its transmission in the course of legislation down to our own time, afford a striking illustration of the character of our laws" (*Ibid.*).

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 587, 588. The granting of a lease or a tenancy to a villein enfranchised him (Year-book, Hen. VII., f. 11), and therefore if a man was a lessee, on the same principle he could not be taken under the statute. The statute, it was said, was to be understood of labourers who were vagrants, and who were, therefore, to be made to work (Year-book, 10 Hen. VI., f. 8, pl. 10). And by the statutes, labourers, on the other hand, departing from their labour, could be brought back to it (47 Edw. III., f. 14). Under these statutes, therefore, if a man was "found wandering about the country," he could be put to work by any one (11 Hen. IV., f. 27).

⁴ *Lit.* "terre tenantz." Instead of the precarious holding at the absolute will of the lord, as originally, we find in the latter end of the last reign (Edw. III.) mention of *tenants by copy of court roll*, which indicates that villeinage was, in some places at least, become of a more stable nature; and villein tenants were enabled to set up a species of *title* against their lord (Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. ii., p. 444).

⁵ 1 Rich. II., c. vii. The actual words of the statute are *chaperrons et autre livere*, literally, "hoods and other livery;" but the term *hats* has crept into all translations.

⁶ Hume, History of England, vol. iii., p. 59.

persons concurring in the same sentiments and views, who bound themselves to support each other on all occasions, and denoted their union by similarity of dress.¹ These confederacies became a terror to the government, and were the occasion of the *statutes of liveries* passed in this and the following reigns. The first of these is stat. 1, Rich. II., c. vii., which ordains that no livery be given by any man for maintenance of quarrels and other confederacies upon pain of imprisonment and grievous forfeiture to the king. Some immaterial alterations were made in this statute both by Richard and his successors; but in substance it remained as now enacted. The successive acts were very little enforced in this reign, or that of Henry VI., and it was reserved for the stricter and sterner rule of Henry VII. really to put them into execution. For this reason, and also because the laws relating to *liveries*, passed in the reign of the first Tudor king (XXIII.), have been strangely misinterpreted by our most trustworthy masonic teachers, I shall postpone my examination of this series of statutes, until the legislation of the reign of Henry VII. passes under review.

VIII. In the year 1378 the commons complained that the statutes of labourers were not attended to, but that persons employed in husbandry fled into cities, and became artificers, mariners, or clerks, to the great detriment of agriculture; and in consequence of these representations, it was enacted that the statutes passed in the preceding reign should be firmly kept and put in due execution.²

IX. In 1388³ these statutes were again confirmed, and it was further directed that no servant or labourer should depart at the end of his term to serve or dwell elsewhere, or under pretence of going a pilgrimage,⁴ without a letter patent specifying the cause of his departure and the time of his return, which might be granted at the discretion of a justice of the peace; and that "as well artificers and people of mystery (*gentz de mistier*)⁵ as servants and apprentices, which be of no great avoyr⁶ (*avoir*), and of which craft or mystery a man hath no great need in harvest time, shall be compelled to serve in harvest to cut, gather, and bring in the corn."

The wages of servants in husbandry were fixed by the same statute, after reciting "that

¹ Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. ii., p. 444. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the king's retinue was often heset and pillaged by banditti; even towns, during the time of fairs, were assaulted and ransacked; and men of rank carried off and confined in the castle of some lawless chieftain, till their ransom was paid (M. Paris, p. 225; Knighton (Anglicanae Historiae Scriptores Decem), p. 2465).

² 2 Rich. II., stat. i., c. viii. In 1383, justices, sheriffs, mayors, etc., were enjoined to take security of vagrants for their good behaviour (7 Rich. II., c. v.).

³ 12 Rich. II., c. iii.

⁴ Mr. Ludlow considers that "tramp-money," *i.e.*, relief to members going in search of work, is the modern representative of the relief to pilgrim-artificers (Fortnightly Review, N.S., vol. vi., p. 399). From the law of 1350 (II.), it appears that "artificers" were even at that date expected to "flee" from one county to another to escape its provisions. "A pilgrimage to a shrine," Mr. Ludlow argues, "would evidently be the safest colour for such a migration;" but Brentano is of opinion, that the 25 Edw. III., c. vii., referred to *country not town* artificers, and observes, that as the exercise of a craft in towns depended upon apprenticeship and citizenship, a fleeing craftsman would not therefore have been allowed to carry on his craft (Brentano, On the History and Development of Gilds, p. xii. *Of.* 12 Rich. II., c. vii.; and Smith's Gilds, pp. 157, 177, 180). The Coventry Gild "kept a lodging-house with thirteen beds, to lodge poor folks coming through the land on *pilgrimage*, or any other work of charity" (*Ibid.*, p. 231).

⁵ Men of Craft (Harleian MSS., 4999).

⁶ *Have, or reputation* (*Ibid.*).

the hires of servants and labourers had not been *put in certainty*¹ before this time." And it was decreed that "no servant of artificer nor victualler within city shall take more than the servants and labourers above named after their estate."² Penalties were imposed on those giving or taking higher wages; and for a third offence, treble the value of the excess given or taken, or forty days' imprisonment.³ Persons having served in husbandry until the age of twelve years were declared incapable of "being put to any mystery or handicraft,"⁴ and all covenants of apprenticeship to the contrary were declared void.

To prevent disorders,⁵ it was ordained that no servant, labourer, nor artificer should carry a sword, buckler, or dagger, except in time of war or when travelling with their masters; but they might have bows and arrows, *and use them on Sundays and holidays*. They were required to leave off playing at tennis or football, and to refrain from quoits, dice, skittles, and other such *impertine games*. This is noticeable for being the first statute that prohibited any sort of games and diversions.⁶

X. In the following year, at the request of the Commons that the Statutes of Labourers should be enforced, it was enacted, that "forasmuch as a man cannot put the price of corn and other victuals in certain," the justices should, at Easter and Michaelmas, make proclamation according to the dearth of victuals, how much every mason, carpenter, tiler, and other craftsmen, workmen, and other labourers should take by the day with meat and drink, or without meat and drink, between the two seasons, and "that every man obey to such proclamations from time to time as a thing done by statute."⁷ Shoemakers and cordwainers were prohibited from being tanners, and *vice versa*;⁸ and artificers and others were restrained from keeping dogs or using ferrets.⁹

In the twelfth year of Richard II., writs were sent to all the sheriffs in England to make proclamation for the sending up of the returns from guilds and crafts, called for by the Parliament of Cambridge. The masters and wardens of "guilds and brotherhoods" were required to furnish full information "as to the manner and form of the oaths, gatherings, feasts, and general meetings¹⁰ of the bretheren and sisteren;" also, as to their liberties,

¹ From this expression Sir F. Eden concludes that the wages of those affected by the Statutes of Labourers "had not been regulated at any earlier period" (Eden, *State of the Poor*, vol. i., p. 43).

² 12 Rich. II., c. iv. The penalties for excessive wages restricted to the *takers* only, by 4 Hen. V., stat. ii., c. v. (1416).

³ Chapter IX. of the statute of this year has the following:—"It is ordained and asserted, that the ordinances aforesaid of servants and labourers, beggars and vagabonds, shall be executed as well in cities and boroughs as in other towns and places within the realm," and "the sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and the keepers of gaols" are charged to receive offenders and to keep them in prison (12 Rich. II., c. ix., A.D. 1388).

⁴ *Ibid.*, c. v.

⁵ *Ibid.*, c. vi. Confirmed, and a penalty of six days imprisonment added (11 Hen. IV., c. iv.).

⁶ Reeves, *History of the English Law* (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. ii., p. 455.

⁷ 13 Rich. II., stat. i., c. viii., 1389-90.

⁸ 13 Rich. II., stat. i., c. xii. Confirmed, 21 Rich. II., c. xvi.; repealed as to shoemakers, 4 Hen. IV., c. xxxv.; and again enacted, 2 Hen. VI., c. vii.

⁹ 13 Rich. II., stat. i., c. xiii.

¹⁰ "The distinction between the 'gatherings' (*congregaciones*) and 'general meetings' (*assemblias*) is seen at a glance in most of the ordinances. The gild brethren were bound to gather together, at unfixed times, on the summons of the dean, for special purposes; but, besides these gatherings upon special summons, general meetings of the gilds were held on fixed days in every year, for election of officers, holding their feasts," etc. (Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, p. 128).

privileges, statutes, ordinances, usages, and customs; and to lay before the king and his council their charters and letters patent, where such existed.¹

The masters, wardens, and overlookers of the mysteries and crafts, who held any charters or letters patent,² were in like manner required to exhibit them.

XI. In the fourth year of Henry IV,³ an act was passed prohibiting carpenters, masons (*cementers*), tilers, and other labourers from being hired by the week, and forbidding them to receive any wages on feast-days, or more than half a day's wages when they only worked on the eve of a festival "till the hour of *None*" (*al hure de None*⁴).

It is probable that in taking service by the week, and receiving wages at the rate of seven days' work, although, from the intervention of the Sabbath, and the frequency of festivals, they only worked four or five days in the week, the provisions of former statutes had been effectually frustrated by the labourers.

XII. Henry IV., in the seventh year of his reign, 1405-6,⁵ confirmed the Statutes of Labourers, and the law of 1388,⁶ which he made more stringent, by ordering that no one should put his child to serve as apprentice to any craft or other labour within a city or borougn, unless he possessed an annual income of 20s. from land or rent.

Labourers and artificers were to be sworn in their respective leets,⁷ once in each year, "to serve and take for their service after the form of the statutes," and any refusing so to do were to be put in the stocks. To facilitate this it was provided that every town or seigniory not having stocks should be fined a hundred shillings.

XIII. Two statutes, enacted in the reign of Henry V., demand our notice. The act of 1414,⁸ extended the authority of justices of the peace, by empowering them to send their writs to take fugitive labourers in any county. All the Statutes of Labourers were to be

¹ The words "si quas habent" (in original) are conclusive, as Mr Smith observes, upon the point, "that no licence nor charter of the crown was necessary to the beginning of any of the social gilds. Any gild might, or it might not, have such charters" (Smith, English Gilds, p. 128).

² "These words show that in the case of the gilds of crafts, as has been seen to be so in that of the social gilds, no licence nor charter of the crown was necessary to their foundation" (*Ibid.*, p. 130).

³ 4 Hen. IV., c. xiv. (1402).

⁴ Except by Kloss, invariably translated *noon*. The expression throws light upon some obscurities in the "Old Charges." *Nonsinch*, 5, 12, and 27 (the figures refer to the numbers by which the various "constitutions" are distinguished in Chapter II.); *Nonesynches*, 15 and 22; *Noontydes*, 18; *Novices*, 24; *Nonsyon*, 28; and *Nuncion*, 29,—are evidently all variations of *Nunchion*, "a piece of victuals eaten between meals" (Johnson).

"Laying by their swords and truncheons,
They took their breakfasts or their *nunchions*."

—*Hudibras*.

Mr Riley says: "Donations for drink to workmen are called, in 1350, 'nonechenche,' probably 'noon's quench,' whence the later 'nuncheon' or luncheon" (Memorials of London, p. 265). The rate of pay—"3s. 6d. to there double wages" (*ante*, p. 101)—which is frequently named—12, 13, 20, and 25—may also be explicable, on the supposition that the extra or additional sum was given in lieu of a payment in kind—*i.e.*, *none-mete* (XXIV.).

⁵ 7 Hen. IV., c. xvii. The city of London exempted from the restriction on apprenticeship by 8 Hen. VI., c. xi. (1429).

⁶ 12 Rich. II., c. iii.

⁷ See Smith's Gilds, pp. 411, 439.

⁸ 2 Hen. V., stat. i., c. iv. The preamble recites, "because servants and labourers do flee from county to county."

exemplified under the Great Seal; an exemplification was to be sent to every sheriff to make proclamation in full county, and deliver it to the justices of the peace named of the *quorum*, to remain with them for the better execution thereof. These justices were to hold their sessions four times a year, and were authorised to examine labourers, servants, and artificers, with their masters, upon their oaths.

XIV. In 1416,¹ an act was passed limiting the penalties of the 12th Rich. II., c. iv., for excessive wages to the *takers* only, it being somewhat humorously recited "that the *givers*, when they have been sworn before the justices of the peace, will in no wise present such excesses to eschew their own punishments."

XV. Matters, however, were replaced on the old footing in 1423,² and the justices once more empowered to proceed against the masters as well as the servants. They were also authorised "to call before them by attachment masons, carpenters, tilers, thatchers, daubers, and *all other labourers*, and to examine them;" and any of these found to have taken contrary to the laws and ordinances were "to have imprisonment of a month." The same authorities had power to call before them in a similar manner tailors, cordwainers, tanners, bochers, fishers, hostilers, and "all other artificers and victuallers," and to assess them under penalties, "to sell and take after the discretions of the justices." This ordinance extended to cities and boroughs as well as counties, and was "to endure until the parliament next to come."

The preceding chapter or article, which is of considerable importance in our inquiry, was first printed from the Statute Roll in Hawkins' edition, 1734-5, and no translation having appeared until 1816,³ it has not been noticed by the numerous commentators upon the subsequent law of 1425.

"The legislature, in the reign of Henry VI," says Mr Reeves, "as in the time of his two predecessors, was rather employed in furthering and improving the policy of some statutes made in the preceding period, than in introducing any *novelties*."⁴ Although legal writers are all of the same opinion as Mr Reeves, and indeed only notice the statute of 1425, from the fact of its having added to the list of offences punishable as felony;⁵ at the hands of masonic historians it has experienced very different treatment, and the speculations to which it has given rise will next claim our attention.

Before, however, we proceed to examine the glosses of the innumerable commentators who have professed to explain this enactment, it will be convenient to consider a little more closely than we have hitherto done the circumstances of the previous reign, together with any collateral facts that may aid in illustrating the subject of our investigation.

The wars of Henry V., however glorious to his arms, placed only a "fruitless crown" upon his head; and, as it has been well expressed, "the lilies of France were purchased too

¹ 4 Henry V., c. iv.

² 2 Hen. VI., c. xviii.

³ Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii., p. 225.

⁴ Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason) 1869, vol. ii., p. 528.

⁵ Dwariss, a Treatise on the Statutes, p. 894. Daines Barrington, a contributor to vol. ix. of the *Archæologia* (1788), both *before* and *after* the essay of Governor Pownall, commenting upon this law, does not even condescend to notice Chapter I. (referring to the chapters of the masons), although his "Observations on the Statutes" contain a disquisition upon the 3 Hen. VI., c. ii., and in the fifth edition (1796) he adds some reflections, which occurred to him "since the former editions."

dearly with the harvests of England." A convincing proof of the devastation made by the sword amongst the gentry is afforded by the language of a statute passed in 1421: it states, "that at the making of the act of the 14th of Edward III. (1340), there were sufficient of proper men in each county to execute every office; but that, owing to pestilence and wars, there are not now a sufficiency of responsible persons to act as sheriffs, coroners, and escheators."

There cannot be a doubt but that greater numbers of the lower classes perished from the operation of similar causes. Indeed, it has been advanced, that the great drain of men occasioned by Henry V.'s wars, and the subsequent bloody contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, materially contributed to render the whole nation free.¹

The condition of the realm, at the period of Henry VI.'s accession, himself an infant, will be best understood by a brief reference to the military operations of the previous reign. Henry V., in 1415, landed near Honfleur at the head of 6000 men-at-arms and 24,000 foot, mostly archers, and, putting the casualties of war on one side, had lost half his force by disease before the memorable battle of Agincourt. Two years later he was again in France with 25,000 men, and in 1421 he levied a new army of 24,000 archers and 4000 horsemen.² The withdrawal of so many men from the kingdom, especially when we consider the sparseness of the population at that period, must have rendered labour even more scarce than it had hitherto been; and the return to peaceful avocations of any of the soldiery could not have been an unmixed advantage, since the high rate of wages paid by Henry V. to his troops³ must have for ever dissatisfied them with the paltry remuneration assessed by the justices, whose scale of payments, indeed, cannot have been one whit more acceptable to the artisans who plied their crafts unmolested by the king's levies.

But the drain upon the population of England for soldiers did not cease with the life of Henry V. His brother, the Duke of Bedford, the most accomplished prince of his time, remained in France. The whole power of England was at his command; he was at the head of armies inured to victory, and was seconded by the most renowned generals of his age.

At the battle of Verneuil there fell about 4000 of the French and 1600 of the English—a loss esteemed at that time so unusual on the side of the victors, that the Duke of Bedford forbade all rejoicings for his success.⁴ In the same year, 1424, further levies were drawn from England, though, much to the chagrin of the Duke of Bedford, the succours which he expected from his native land were intercepted by his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, and employed in Holland and Hainault.

About this period gunpowder had passed into constant use, both in the attack and defence of places. The pieces were called guns and culverins. The first threw stone balls, sometimes 26 inches in diameter; the second threw plummets or balls of lead. The powder was of a different sort for each. The guns were worked by a master gunner, with varlets under him. *Masons* and *carpenters* were attached to them.⁵

¹ Eden, State of the Poor, vol. i., p. 66.

² Hume, History of England, 1822, vol. iii., pp. 99, 104, 111.

³ "All the extraordinary supplies granted by Parliament to Henry during the course of his reign, were only about £203,000. It is easy to compute how soon this money must be exhausted by armies of 24,000 archers and 6000 horse, when each archer had sixpence a day, and each horseman two shillings" (*Ibid.*, p. 118). See, however, Rymer, Federa, vol. ix., p. 258, from which the wages of archers would appear to have been much higher.

⁴ Hume, History of England, vol. iii., p. 129.

⁵ Lingard, History of England, 1849, vol. iv., p. 24.

It is noteworthy that the two laws enacted in the Middle Ages against combinations, congregations, and chapters of workmen, the 34 Edward III., c. ix. (III.) and the 3 Henry VI., c. i. (XVI.), were directed against the craftsmen above named, and, as a factor at least in our final judgment upon these statutes, must be assumed the possibility of both masons and carpenters having, to some extent, acquired by military service abroad a higher opinion of the rights of labour, and of the inherent freedom of every class of artisan to barter the product of their skill or industry for its full money value.

XVI. 3 HENRY VI., C. I., A.D. 1425.

Eu primes come par les anmelx congregations et confederacies faitz par les Masons en lour generalx Chapitres assemblez, le bon cours et effect des estatutz de Laborers sont publiquement violez et disrumpuez en subversion de la leye et grevouse damage of tout le commune; nostre Seigneur le Roi viollant en ceo cas purvoir de remedie, par advis et assent suisditz et a la especial request des ditz Communes ad ordinez et establiz que tieux Chapitres et Congregacions ne soient desoretenuz; et si ascuns tielx soient faitz soient ceux qui fount faire assembler et tenir iceux Chapitres et congregacions sils ent soient conviectz adjuggez pur felons; et que toutz les autres Masons qui viennent as tielx Chapitres et congregacions soient puniz par emprisonement de lour corps et facent fyn et raunceon a la volunte du Roi.

FIRST, Whereas by the yearly Congregations and Confederacies made by the Masons in their general Chapitres assembled, the good Course and Effect of the Statutes of Labourers be openly violated and broken, in Subversion of the Law, and to the great Damage of all the Commons: Our said Lord the King willing in this Case to provide Remedy, by the Advice and Assent aforesaid, and at the special Request of the said Commons, hath ordained and established, that such Chapitres and Congregations shall not be hereafter holden; and if any such be made, they that cause such Chapitres and Congregations to be assembled and holden, if they thereof be convict, shall be judged for Felons; and that all the other Masons that come to such Chapitres and Congregations, be punished by Imprisonment of their Bodies, and make Fine and Ransom at the King's Will.

The first writer who associated this statute with the Freemasons was Dr Plot, who, in his "Natural History of Staffordshire,"¹ ridicules the idea of the charges of the Society having been approved by King Henry VI., observing;—" Yet more improbable is it still, that Hen. the 6 and his *Council* should ever peruse or approve their *charges* and *manners*, and so confirm these right Worshipfull *Masters* and *Fellows* as they are call'd in the *Serole*: for in the third of his reigne (when he could not be 4 years old) I find an *act of Parliament* quite abolishing this *Society*. Which *Statute* though repealed by a subsequent *act* in the 5 of Eliz. (XXXIII.), 'tis still to be feared these *Chapters* of *Free-Masons* do as much mischief as before, which, if one may estimate by the penalty, was anciently so great, that perhaps it might be usefull to examin them now."

The next commentary upon the statute which I shall introduce, will be that of Dr James Anderson, who, in 1721, " fault having been found with the old Gothic Constitutions," was ordered by the Grand Lodge " to digest the same in a new and better method." On the performance of his task, " fourteen learned brothers were appointed to examine the MS. and to

¹ Oxford, 1686, c. viii. See *ante*, p. 73.

make report," which proving favourable, the Grand Lodge desired the Grand Master to have it printed; and, on the 17th January 1723, it is recorded that "Grand Warden Anderson produced the *new* book of Constitutions, which was again approved."¹ With the book itself is bound up the printed "approbation" of the Duke of Wharton, the Grand Master, and of the Masters and Wardens of twenty Lodges; whilst in a graceful dedication to the Duke of Montagu, from the pen of Dr Desaguliers, the learned natural philosopher, the erudition and accuracy of the compiler are especially borne witness to.²

I have been thus precise, because this publication, the Constitutions of 1723, has been termed "the basis of Masonic history," and the statements which appear in it necessarily carry great weight.

Dr Anderson says:—"Now though in the third year of King Henry VI, while an Infant of about four years old, the Parliament made an Act, that affected only the *working Masons*, who had, contrary to the Statutes for Labourers, confederated not to work but at their own Price and Wages; and because such Agreements were suppos'd to be made at the *General Lodges*, call'd in the Act *Chapters* and *Congregations* of *Masons*, it was then thought expedient to level the said Act against the said *Congregations*: yet when the said King Henry VI. arriv'd to Man's Estate, the Masons laid before him and his *Lords* the above-mention'd *Records* and *Charges*, who, 'tis plain, review'd them, and solemnly approv'd of them as good and reasonable to be holden: Nay, the said *King* and his *Lords* must have been incorporated with the *Free-Masons*, before they could make such Review of the *Records*; and in this Reign, before King Henry's Troubles, Masons were much encourag'd. Nor is there any Instance of executing that Act in that, or in any other Reign since, and the Masons never neglected their *Lodges* for it, nor even thought it worth while to employ their *noble* and *eminent Brethren* to have it repeal'd; because the working Masons, that are free of the Lodge, scorn to be guilty of such Combinations; and the free Masons have no concern in trespasses against the Statutes for Labourers."³

The author, or compiler, of the Constitutions adds, in a footnote, that "by tradition it is believ'd that the *Parliament-Men* were then too much influenc'd by the *illiterate clergy*, who were not accepted Masons, nor understood Architecture (as the *clergy* of some former Ages), yet thinking they had an indefeasible Right to know all Secrets, by virtue of *auricular Confession*,⁴ and the Masons never confessing anything thereof, the said *Clergy* were highly offended, and represented them as dangerous to the State."

Dr Anderson then gives in full the words of the statute—or rather of its translation—which he takes from Coke;⁵ speaks of the "Congregations and Confederacies made by the

¹ Anderson, Constitutions, 1723, pp. 112, 115, 152.

² "I need not tell your Grace what pains our learned author has taken in compiling and digesting this book from the old records, and how accurately he has compar'd and made everything agreeable to history and chronology" (Anderson, Constitutions, 1723).

³ Anderson, Constitutions, 1723, pp. 34, 35. Kloss very pertinently observes, that though at this early date Dr Anderson endeavours to draw a distinction between "operative masons" and "Freemasons," on all other occasions he does not scruple to appropriate to the latter all documents relating to the former (Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung). I am glad to say that this work is in course of translation by Mr G. W. Speth, than whom no one is better qualified to present this masonic classic in an English guise, with due fidelity to the original.

⁴ The writer, who was himself a Scotch Presbyterian minister, here indulges in a fling at the clerics of the older faith.

⁵ Coke, Institutes, iii., fol. 99.

Masons in their *General Assemblies* ;" and cites the opinion of the learned Chief-Judge, that all the Statutes of Labourers were repealed by the statute of 5 Elizabeth, chapter 4.

As Preston¹ and all other Masonic writers, with the solitary exception of Dr George Kloss (1848),² have followed Anderson in their interpretation of this statute, I shall not encumber my pages with a repetition of the arguments already quoted, but will proceed to adduce some of the conclusions which have been advanced by independent authorities, whose speculations, though equally erroneous, are less open to suspicion, as being uninfluenced by any appreciable extent by writers of the craft.

Governor Pownall says, "These Statutes of Labourers were repeatedly renewed through several reigns down to Henry VI., and as repeatedly disobeyed by the Freemasons, until in the 3d of Henry VI. an ordinance was, by the advice of the Lords, on the petition of the Commons, made. This statute ascertains these facts: first, that this corporation held chapters and congregations, assuming, as to the regulating of their work and wages, to have a right to settle these matters by their own bye-laws. The statute declares this to be a subversion of the law of the land, and grievous damage to the community; secondly, it ascertains that this body of masons were a set of artists and mechanicks, the price of whose labour and work ought to be regulated by those Statutes of Labourers; thirdly, instead of dissolving this corporation, which would in effect have acknowledged it as legal prior to such dissolution, it forbids all their chapters and other congregations to be held, and declares all persons assembling or holding such to be felons.

"This statute put an end to this body, and all its illegal chapters and pretences. It should seem, however, that societies of these masons met in mere clubs, wherein continuing to observe and practice some of their ceremonies which once had a reference to their constitutions and to the foundation of powers which no longer existed, and were scarcely understood, they only made sport to mock themselves, and by degrees their clubs or lodges sunk into a mere foolish, harmless mummery."³

It is greatly to be regretted that the diligent antiquary, from whom I have last quoted, should have regarded the law of 1425, so decisive of the position he took up, as to render unnecessary a publication of the *historical proofs* with which he avowed himself prepared. It has been already shown that in the opinion both of Governor Pownall and Mr Hope, the Freemasons were a close corporation under the protection of the Pope,⁴ and thereby claiming exemption from the Statutes of Labourers, became the subject of special legislation in the third year of Henry VI. Indeed the latter of these authorities maintains that "as soon as, in different countries, a general increase of learning, of industry, or skill, of jealousy

¹ Author of the "Illustrations of Masonry," of which *twelve* editions were published in his lifetime—the first in 1772, the last in 1812.

² "These chapters and congregations cannot by any possibility be thought to stand in connection with a secret doctrine, but they may, with designing under heavy oaths of secrecy, to evade and overstep the laws of the realm" (Kloss, *Die Freimaurer in ihrer wahren Bedeutung*).

³ *Archæologia*, vol. ix., pp. 118, 119. The view here expressed has been adopted by a recent Masonic writer, who observes: "It is in the highest degree probable that the year 1424 [1425?] is the proper date to assign for the cessation of English Freemasonry as a strictly operative association, and the epoch of its decided tendency towards a speculative science, such as we now find it. The rites and ceremonies, together with the moral instruction which had hitherto been in vogue in the lodges, were undoubtedly continued under the new régime!" (Fort, *Antiquities of Freemasonry*, p. 131).

⁴ *Ante*, pp. 258, 260. Even the more critical Dallaway does not scruple to say: "The Freemasons were blessed by the Pope, and were first encouraged in England by Henry III." (Discourses on Architecture, p. 156).

in the native sovereigns, of the intrusion of foreigners, to the disparagement of their authority, and the detriment of their subjects, and a general corresponding diminution of the papal influence, and of the support given by it to Freemasonry, caused the bodies of Freemasons everywhere successively to dissolve, or to be expelled, until they at last ceased to exercise their original profession, and nothing remained of them but an empty name, and organisation, and formulary, which other men laid hold of and appropriated to themselves to carry on and conceal other purposes; no trace or tradition of their peculiar principles or method continued to be observed."¹

By other writers stress has been laid on the terms "congregations, confederacies, and general chapters," and from their employment in the statute, it has been deduced that the body of Freemasons met in one general assembly, which was convoked "after the manner of a chapter."² Though, as a sceptical—or perhaps I should say a less uncritical—commentator well observes, "if the chapters or assembling of Freemasons had been injurious to the State by fomenting insurrections, it is scarcely probable that such fact would have been totally overlooked, not only by the English historians, but in the statutes."³

With regard to the tenor of the series of enactments, of which the law under examination is but an intermediate manifestation, I apprehend that the general meaning and intention of the various regulations comprehensively classed as the "Statutes of Labourers," will have been fairly disclosed by the summary already given. They were designed to repress extortion, to keep down the prices of provisions, and restrain the wage-earning classes from profiting unduly by the dearth of labour and the necessities of a nascent civilisation. That the legislature failed in its laudable aim we can now perceive, but we should bear in mind that political economy, as at this day we understand it, has only been evolved after a long experience of legislative and economical experiments, amply illustrated in the early history of Great Britain, and which in part the statutes under review put very plainly before us. The fanciful interpretation placed upon the law of 1425 by Governor Pownall and Mr Hope I shall pass over without further comment, but in the terminology of this statute there are a few expressions which are worthy of more detailed examination.

In the first instance let us consider the phrase, *en leur general chapters assemblez*—in their general chapters *assembled*—which, until the authorised edition of the statutes in 1810, was almost invariably translated, "in their general chapters and *assemblies*." Few commentators troubled themselves to consult the original Norman-French, and as a natural consequence—even when one did not copy directly from another, as was probably the case in the majority of instances—the commentary or annotation, was applied to a garbled or falsified version of the record it professed to explain. Doctors Plot and Anderson, Preston, Dallaway, Findel, and even Kloss, cite the statute, and in each instance the word *assemblies* appears.⁴ Not to pursue this point to an unnecessary length, I will briefly observe that perhaps about one-half

¹ Hope, *Essay on Architecture*, pp. 213, 214.

² The expression *kapittelsweise*, used by the German stonemasons (*ante*, p. 118), Findel states, is employed by no other guild, and he derives it from the *capitula* of the Benedictines (*History of Freemasonry*, p. 73).

³ Dallaway, *Discourses on Architecture*, p. 427.

⁴ The earliest known translation (Harleian MS., No. 4999) has *assemblies*. On the other side, it is perhaps right to say that Pownall, who gives the statute in the original Norman-French, prints the word correctly (*assemblez*). For the general use of the term, see the Statutes 17 Rich. II., c. viii.; 13 Hen. IV., c. vii.; 2 Hen. V., c. viii.; and Sir II. Nicolas, *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, vol. vi., *passim*.

of the erroneous conclusions that have been drawn from the verbiage of this enactment, arise out of the substitution of a noun for a participle, and it has been too hastily concluded that the language of the "Old Charges" is here reproduced, and that the masons, whose illegal conventions it was the object of the statute to repress, met in precisely the same kind of "general assemblies" as those alluded to in our manuscript constitutions. Whilst, indeed, it is very possible that they did, still the enactment will not bear this construction, except inferentially, and as it has been already overweighted with the conceits of the learned, it will be best to prefer evidence to conjecture, and to content ourselves with an examination of the terms actually employed, rather than waste time in vainly speculating upon the meaning and significance of a form of expression which had its origin in the imagination of the translator.

The word "chapters," which occurs in two statutes (III., XVI.), I conceive to have been used—as I pointed out some years ago¹—to describe, what in the vernacular were termed *conventicles*. The latter expression occurs in 1383, in a proclamation of the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of the city of London;² again in 1415,³ in an ordinance published by the same corporate body, and still later in the fifteenth century, appears in a petition to parliament against an Exeter guild in the twenty-second year of Edward IV.⁴

"The commission" (of a justice), says Lambard, "gives power to enquire of Conventicles. Yet unlawful Conventicles be not all of one sort; for sometimes those are called Conventicles wheerin many do impart with others their meaning to kill a man, or to take one another's part in all things, or suchlike."⁵

Shakespeare would appear to have had this definition present to his mind, when in Part II. of his play, *Henry VI.*, he makes Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle—on being arrested for treason in the presence of Cardinal Beaufort and other noblemen—utter the following complaint:—

"Ay, all of you have laid your heads together.
Myself had notice of your *conventicles*—
And all to make away my guiltless life."⁶

¹ *The Four Old Lodges*, 1879, pp. 25, 82.

² "That noman make none congregacions, conuenticles, assemblies; ne ouer more in none manere ne make alliances, confederacies, conspiracies, ne obligacions, forto bynde men to gide [together]; upon payne of empresement, vche [each] man that is yfounde in swych defaute, and his bodi at the kyngges will" (Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 480). Mr Riley says: "This extract is worthy of remark, as being the earliest entry in *English* in the letter-books" (*Ibid.*).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 609. The *yeomen tailours* restrained from meeting in assemblies and conventicles.

⁴ Smith, *English Gilds*, p. 311.

⁵ William Lambard, *Eirenarcha*; or, the Office of the Justices of the Peace, edit. 1610, p. 173.

⁶ Act iii., sc. 1. His apprehensions were well grounded, for in a few days he was found dead in his bed. Beaufort, his rival, did not long survive him. According to Preston, the 3 Hen. VI., c. i. (XVI.) was passed at the instance of the cardinal, by the "Parliament of Bats" (XXII.), and the severity of its provisions restrained by the Duke of Gloucester, who was "the protector of masons." Findel, and others who follow Preston, may derive consolation from the words which, at Beaufort's death, Shakespeare puts in the king's mouth:

"He dies, and *makes no sign.*"
—Act iii., sc. 2.

as affording negative evidence of the cardinal's inveteracy against the masons, and justifying the conclusion that either the uncle or the grand-uncle of the king was a Freemason, the balance of probability inclines in favour of the former! See the fourth note to the Stat. 3 Hen. VII., c. i. (XXII.).

The word, in the sense of an “assembly for worship,” does not appear in the statutes until 1592-3, when by the 35 Elizabeth, c. i., persons above the age of sixteen were forbidden to be present “at anye unlaufull assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under colour or pretence of any exercise of Religion.”¹

The view presented is strengthened by the language of two statutes, enacted in 1400 and 1529 respectively. The earlier of these (in *Latin*) is directed against the Lollards, who are charged with making unlawful conventicles (*conventicula*)² and confederacies;³ and the other (in *English*) forbids “artyficers or handycrafte men” from assembling “in any company, fellowship, congregacion, or conventyle.”⁴

Kloss mentions, that by the Golden Bull of the Emperor Charles IV., promulgated in 1371, “conspiraciones,” “conventicula,” and kindred associations, were forbidden. From the evidence adduced it will, I think, become quite clear, that in 1425 there was an English word in common use—*conventicle*—denoting precisely the same kind of clandestine meeting as those which the statute was enacted to suppress, and I shall leave every reader to form his own conclusion, upon the point whether the persons,⁵ to whom the phraseology of the statute was entrusted, had in their minds the seditious assemblies of which examples have been given, or whether the term they used had reference to societies, meeting “after the manner of a chapter,” which, indeed, are not otherwise mentioned in the statute-book.

The interest pertaining to this statute has been heightened by the common assertion that Henry VI. was himself a Freemason. Indeed, Preston carefully records the year of his initiation,⁶ and in nearly every masonic work may be seen a singular catechism “concerning the mysterie of maçonrye, writtene by the hande of Kinge Henrye, the sixthe of the name.” Of any real connection, however, between this Prince and the Freemasons, no trace exists except in the catechism alluded to, which will be presently examined. We are apt to attach an imaginary value to MSS. which have been destroyed, as we are precluded from making a collation of the copy with the original. Most of the documents of the Freemasons are in this melancholy category, and upon the alleged destruction, by Nicholas Stone, of many valuable manuscripts belonging to the society, it has been remarked, “perhaps his master, Imigo Jones, thought that the new mode, though dependent on taste, was independent of science; and, like the Caliph Omar, held what was agreeable to the new faith useless, and what was not ought to be destroyed!”⁷

Henry's long minority, and weakness of understanding when he arrived at more mature years, made him incapable of any character whatsoever, in any relation of life. “Such a King,” in the opinion of Daines Barrington, “could, possibly be of no other use than that of the Roman Consuls, in the fall of the empire—to mark the year.”⁸ It has been stated that he was

¹ Extended by the well-known “Conventicle” Acts of 16 Chas. II., c. iv., and 22 Chas. II., c. 1.

² Not *capitula*, which would have been more in harmony with *chapiters*.

³ 2 Hen. IV., c. xv.

⁴ 21 Hen. VIII., c. xvi.

⁵ *Querry*—In their employment of the word *chapiters* had they any choice? It is true that for *conventicle* there exists a modern equivalent—*conciliabule*—from the Latin *conciliabulum*, which occurs in the “*Dictionnaire*” of Pierre Richelot, 1695; but I have not met with the expression in any printed work or manuscript of an earlier date.

⁶ Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 199.

⁷ *Archæologia*, vol. xvii., p. 83 (Observations on Vaults, by Samuel Ware).

⁸ Barrington, *Observations on the More Ancient Statutes*, p. 416.

an adept in the science of alchemy,¹ and Sir John Davis says, it was conceived that he had purchased the secret from the famous Raymond Lully.² Miracles, indeed, are alleged to have been performed at the tomb of Henry VI., though Widmore says, "that the Court of Rome asked too much for his canonization, so that he never became a complete saint."³

XVII. In 1427,⁴ the Statutes of the twelfth and thirteenth years of Richard II. (IX., X.) having been pronounced ineffectual, the former as being "too hard upon the masters," and the latter from the absence of any penalty for wrong doing, it was ordained "that the justices of the peace in every county, the mayor of the City of London, and the mayors and bailiffs in every city, borough, or town, *having such power and authority as justices of the peace have*,⁵ shall, henceforth, have power and authority to make proclamation in their full sessions, once a year, how much every servant of husbandry shall take for the year next following, and that they make two times (*deux foitz*) proclamation in two sessions, to be holden betwixt the feasts of Easter and St Michael, and in every borough and market town, how much every artificer and workman shall take by the day, and by the week: and that every proclamation so to be made, be holden as a thing ordained by statute." Infractions of the law were declared punishable by fine or imprisonment, and the justices, mayors, and bailiffs were authorised "to hear and determine such offences, and to examine by their discretion, as well such servants, artificers, and workmen, as their masters," to punish offenders, to direct sheriffs to imprison them: "and that all the mayors and bailiffs *which be keepers of the peace*⁶ (*queux sount Gardiens du pees*) in any cities, towns, or boroughs, shall have like power, correction, and execution of the [Statute], and of all Statutes of Labourers within the said towns, cities, and boroughs, as the justices of the peace have in their counties."

This statute has been minutely criticised by Dr Kloss,⁷ who considers that, from its phraseology, certain obscure passages in the Halliwell poem "acquire sense and confirmation." This writer observes, that the justices of the peace had hitherto been the sole assessors of the rate of wages, and judges of all offences against the respective statutes—the sheriffs, bailiffs, and their subordinates the keepers of gaols, being only mentioned as having to execute the warrants, orders, and resolutions of the justices. But by this new law, besides the justices, the mayor of the city of London, the mayors and bailiffs of every chief city, borough, or county town, all persons of position and rank, *are for the first time*⁸ empowered to participate in the settlement of the rate of wages, and to make proclamation thereof twice a year. Conjointly they are charged to hear and decide all infractions, and to issue and grant warrants of arrest, which were to be executed by the sheriff.

"At last," says Kloss, "we glean why the Masons were to appear at the general assembly at a certain place once a year, to hear the rate of wages, on account of *gret ryolte*—that is, by

¹ See Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii., pt. iii., p. 24. The alchemists sometimes had writs of protection, examples of which may be seen in Rymer.

² Barrington, *Observations on the More Ancient Statutes*, p. 416.

³ *Antiquities of Westminster Abbey*, p. 121.

⁴ 6 Hen. VI., c. iii.

⁵ "Eiantz tiel poir et antoriter comeount justices de la peas." In previous editions of the Statutes, translated "shall have such power and authority to make proclamation," etc.

⁶ See *ante*, 34 Edw. III., c. ix. (III.).

⁷ Kloss, *Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung* (Freemasonry in its true Significance).

⁸ See the second note to this statute (XVII.).

royal command. We learn the meaning of the presence at the sessions of the *grete lordes, kuyngthes, swywers, and other aldermen*, of the *meyr of that syté*, and also of the *scheref of that contré*, as administrators of the law, and what is meant by *sueche ordynances as they maken therre.*¹

Upon the evidence of this statute, therefore, Kloss contends that the Halliwell poem could not have been written *before* 1427, nor—from the testimony presented by a later enactment, to be presently examined—*after* 1444-45.

It is no reflection upon Kloss's learning or ability to say that he has altogether failed to grasp the true meaning of this enactment, and thereby to comprehend the intention of the legislature. The range of his inquiry could hardly be expected to extend over the whole field of English law.

The rules by which the sages of the law, according to Plowden,² have ever been guided in seeking for the intention of the legislature are maxims of sound interpretation, which have been accumulated by the experience, and ratified by the approbation, of ages.

First in importance is the consideration, what was the *rule* at the common law?³ “To know what the common law was, before the making of a statute, whereby it may be seen whether the statute be introductory of a new law, or only affirmative of the common law, is the very lock and key to set open the windows of the statute.”⁴

The language of the enactment under review (XVII) clearly shows that the officials associated with the justices already possessed equal powers with the latter. But who were the justices of the peace? The *peace*, in the most extensive sense of the word, took in, perhaps, the whole of the criminal law; and as most offences were said to be against the peace, all those magistrates who had authority to take cognisance of such offences, might be considered as a sort of guardians of the peace *ex officio*: such were the king's justices, inferior judges, and ministers of justice, as *sheriffs*, constables, tythingmen, head boroughts, and the like.⁵ Others were conservators of the peace by tenure or prescription. Besides these, extraordinary ones were appointed occasionally by commission from the king.⁶ In the first year of Edward III. certain *conservators of the peace* were nominated by the Crown, as auxiliary to those who were such by the titles above mentioned.⁷

So beneficial was the establishment of “keepers of the peace” considered by the people,

¹ Cf. Halliwell, Early History of Freemasonry in England, 1844, pp. 27, 29, 30; Masonic Eclectic, 1865, vol. i., pp. 245-250; Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 30; and pp. 60, 79 *ante*; and 374 *post*.

² Plowden, Rep., p. 205.

³ According to the resolution of the Barons of the Exchequer, in Heydon's case, four things are to be considered—1. The common law before the Act; 2. The mischief and defect against which it did not provide; 3. The remedy Parliament hath appointed; and, 4. The true reason of the remedy (3 Rep., 7).

⁴ 2 Inst., 301; 3 Rep., 13; Hob., 83. “Further, as a rule of exposition, statutes are to be construed in reference to the *principles* of the common law. For it is not to be presumed that the Legislature intended to make any innovation upon the common law further than the case absolutely required” (Dwarris, A Treatise on the Statutes, p. 695).

⁵ Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. ii., p. 328.

⁶ *Ibid.* Lambard says: “The mayors and other head officers of many cities and corporate towns be Justices of this kind [by grant] at this day, by grants of the king and his progenitors” (Eirenarcha; or, of the Office of the Justices of the Peace, 1610, p. 26). The earliest edition of this work which I have seen was published in 1569, but as the subject-matter was amplified and re-arranged in successive publications, I have been unable to collate the passages in the two versions without a more protracted search than the importance of the inquiry would at all justify.

⁷ 1 Edw. III., stat. ii., c. xvi.

that it became a favourite in the country, and was exalted in preference to some institutions that were more ancient.¹

In conformity with many statutes and petitions, commissions were at various times framed, *assigning* certain persons to execute the powers which the statutes authorised the king to confer. "In the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third," says Mr Reeves, "by the statute called the statute of labourers, we find that *justices* were to be assigned for the execution of that act. It is most probable the persons assigned *justices* to execute this statute were the *keepers of the peace*"² (III.). Thus we find, that the justices and their coadjutors in the statute under review, were virtually one and the same class—that is to say, the former, *eo nomine*, specially assigned by the king, the latter—long since *keepers*, and now *justices* of the peace, *virtute officio*, being specially reminded of responsibilities, gradually increasing, from the natural tendency of recalcitrant labourers and workmen to seek refuge in the towns. The language of the earlier statutes fully bears out this view; and, indeed, were I called upon to form my own conclusions from the mere verbiage of the statutes of labourers, these, in a definite shape, would amount to this—That the repeated mention of the sheriff, the mayors, the bailiffs, constables, etc., must, by means of the numerous proclamations, have made the lower classes far more familiar with the names of these officials than with those of the new-fangled "justices" (I, II, IX.). The view presented is supported by the *absence*, in the Halliwell poem, of any reference to the latter. From this fact alone I should deduce an inference the opposite of that drawn by Dr Kloss, namely, that the presence of "great lords, mayors, and sheriffs" point to a fourteenth-century origin of the poem, as claimed for it by the antiquary who made known its existence.

It seems to me that the "father" of masonic criticism has here gone wholly off the track. The Halliwell poem, we must assume, was intended for the instruction and guidance of town or of *country* masons.³ The entire tenor of this production, the class of persons to whom it was addressed—far superior in their way to the villeins, the labourers in husbandry, and the rude artificers of the shires, the regulations for behaviour at the common meal, all point, in my judgment, to its connection with some *urban* craft. If this view be accepted, the Statutes of Labourers have very little bearing upon the question at issue. These enactments were especially framed with regard to the powers and wants of the landed proprietors.⁴ In towns, labour was generally regulated by municipal ordinances (IV.). Thus in 1350, contemporaneously with the Parliamentary Statute of that year, were *ordained*⁵ by the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of London, various regulations as to wages and prices in the city, "to amend and redress," in the words of the preamble, "the damages and grievances which the good folks of the city, rich and poor, have suffered and received within the past year, by

¹ Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. ii., p. 330.

² *Ibid.* "Keepers of the peace" were not commonly reputed and called Justices until 1360 (34 Edw. III., c. i.).

³ To render myself quite clear, let me state that by this I mean that the Halliwell code was evidently in use by a *single* guild, craft, or fraternity. Kloss's suggestion—that the Halliwell MS. may have had special reference to the metropolis—will be considered in my review of the next statute (XVIII.) in this series.

⁴ Brentano, On the History and Development of Gilds (Introduction), p. xii.; and see *ante*, p. 316, note 4. The incidence of the Statutes of Labourers upon the craft guilds will be again discussed (XXV.).

⁵ Not merely *proclaimed*. See also the Regulations for the Trade of Masons (IV.), art. ix. The powers of the corporation certainly stood in need of no extension. Many instances of trials before the mayor and aldermen, and of punishment by *hanging*, are recorded by Mr Riley.

reason of masons, carpenters, plasterers, tilers, and all manner of labourers,¹ who take immeasurably more than they have been wont to take."²

A word is necessary as to the position of sheriff. Dr Kloss appears to think that this official received an accession of authority by the law of 1427. Such was not the case. The *tourn*, the great criminal court of the Saxons, was still presided over by each sheriff in his county; and it was not until 1461, that from what Mr Reeves calls "a revolution in an ancient branch of our judicial establishment,"³ his jurisdiction was restrained.⁴

It is possible, indeed, that by some the opinion may be held, that the most ancient of our manuscript charges or constitutions, referred either partly or wholly to country masons. Taking their view of the case, we are, however, faced by the conclusion of an eminent authority, who believes the "artificers," whom the 25th Edward III. and later statutes "expects to flee from one *county* to another," to have been workmen employed on the country manors of lords. "Each country manor," says Brentano, "had in the Middle Ages its own artificers, who supplied the common wants of their lords, whilst the latter resorted only for their more refined wants to the craftsmen of the towns."⁵

I cannot bring myself to believe, that the masons who plied their trade in remote villages and hamlets at about the early part of the fifteenth century were, either by education or intelligence, capable of comprehending the Halliwell poem had it been rehearsed to them. But, putting conjecture wholly aside, and contenting ourselves with the actual expressions to be met with in that ancient manuscript, I, for one, should have expected to find in a document of this character *relating to artificers of the counties*—written between 1427 and 1444—some reference or allusion to the *justices of the peace*, whose authority was gradually being extended, by whom, no doubt, many regulations were made which have not survived, and who, by charters, letters patent, and ordinances of the reigning king—not entered on the Statute Roll—must have been constantly charged with the proper execution of the Statutes of Labourers in particular counties where their provisions had been evaded.⁶

XVIII. Although following a common practice, the operation of the enactment just

¹ Even the "labourers" of London eventually formed themselves into a company. In 1586 John Jerman and others, "labourers of the city of London," petitioned the council, "desiring confirmation of their incorporation, granted by King Henry VII., and confirmed by King Henry VIII." (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1581-1590, p. 376). The treatment to which this class of people was subjected is inconceivable at the present day. In 1560 a letter from Sir Henry Nevell to Sir Thomas Parry complains of "labourers being taken up by commission, and sold at fairs for 10 greats and 2s. each!" (*Ibid.*, Series 1547-1580, p. 155).

² Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 253. "In the first place, that the masons, between the Feasts of Easter and St Michael, shall take no more by the working day than 6d., without viuetals or drink; and from the Feast of St Michael to Easter, for the working day, 5d. And upon feast-days, when they do not work, they shall take nothing" (*Ibid.*).

³ Reeves, *History of the English Law* (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. iii., p. 5.

⁴ By Stat. Edw. IV., c. ii. This act did not extend to the Sheriffs of London. The jurisdiction of the Sheriff in the *tourn* to take indictments or presentments for felony was transferred to the Justices of the Peace. It was an ancient regulation of police, that every inhabitant of a county who was above the age of twelve years, should attend the Sheriff's *tourn* in order to hear the *epitula corone* read over, and given in charge. This, before the establishment of justices in eyre, was the only opportunity of their being instructed with regard to the Crown law, and it was probably supposed that such a charge would not only be understood by a child above that age, but make a lasting impression (Barrington, *Observations on the More Ancient Statutes*, p. 69).

⁵ Brentano, *On the History and Development of Gilds* (Introduction), p. xii.

⁶ The sources of authority upon which this opinion is based have been already referred to in preceding notes.

reviewed (XVII) was limited to the end of the next parliament, in the very next statute of this reign it was made permanent.¹ This *capitulary* consists of twenty-nine chapters, which have little connection with each other—one only besides that already cited demands our attention.² On the complaint of the civic authorities that they had been “grievously vexed and inquieted by colour of an article in the statute of 1406” (XII.), it was ordained in 1429 “that the ancient manner, form, and custom of putting and taking of apprentices, used and continued in the city of London, be from henceforth kept and observed.”

Upon this, Dr Kloss observes, “it justifies the conclusion that the usages and customs of London, as the capital, were either adopted and followed by the rest of the kingdom, or that the Halliwell poem was about this period composed expressly by and for the Londoners,” and adds “that the first assumption obtains increased probability by the law of 1562,”³ which definitely fixes a seven years’ apprenticeship for the whole kingdom, “according to the custom and usage of the capital—London.”

XIX.⁴ In 1437 the king and his parliament applied themselves still more vigorously to mitigate the growing abuses of the craft guilds; yet, in the very course adopted, we may perceive that the sweeping condemnation of the right of the craftsmen to govern their trades by regulations of their own devising (III., XVI.) had been ineffectual, as it was now sought to control a system which the legislature was powerless to suppress. Accordingly, on the ground that “the masters, wardens, and people of many guilds, fraternities, and other companies, make among themselves many unlawful and unreasonable ordinances” of things (*inter alia*), “which sound in confederacy (*sonnent en confederacie*) for their singular profit, and common damage to the people.” All letters patent and charters were required to be exhibited to the justices in counties, or the chief governors of cities, boroughs, and towns, without whose sanction no new ordinances were to be made or used, and by whom the same could be at any time revoked or repealed (XXV.). The cumulative effect of these restrictions, at a time—the middle of the fourteenth century—when the villeins were rushing in great numbers into the towns, to take up trades, must have prevented a great number—and in several trades the majority—of workmen from themselves becoming independent masters; and thus there arose a real working-class, with separate views and interests.⁵ In England, the craft guilds gradually hardened into the same narrow-mindedness as in Germany and France,⁶ with the same favours to the sons of masters as regards the term of apprenticeship, entrance fees, and in some cases of masterpieces.⁷

Mr Ludlow, in what a high authority terms “one of the best papers ever written on trade unions,”⁸ has well stated, that “from the moment that, to establish a given business more capital is required than a journeyman can easily accumulate within a few years, guild-mastership—the mastership of the masterpiece—becomes little more than a name. The attempt to keep up the strictness of its conditions becomes only an additional weight on the poorer members of the trade; skill alone is valueless, and is soon compelled to hire itself out

¹ 8 Hen. VI., c. viii. ² 8 Hen. VI., c. xi. Custom of London respecting taking of apprentices (*marginal note*).

³ 5 Eliz., c. iv.

⁴ 15 Hen. VI., c. vi., 1436-7.

⁵ Brentano, On the History and Development of Gilds, p. 76.

⁶ *Ante*, pp. 159, 189.

⁷ Cf. The by-laws of the company of Framework-Knitters (Journals of the House of Commons, vol. xxvi., pp. 790-794); Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 20; and *ante*, p. 89, note 2.

⁸ Brentano, On the History and Development of Gilds, p. 101.

to capital." The same writer—and his commentary is the more valuable, because the masons could no more have been present to his mind's eye than any other class of workmen to which his essay refers—cites the Act of 1360 (III.), the earlier of the *two* enactments mentioning the *chapters* of the masons, and observes: "This statute is remarkable as showing the co-existence of the two masterships—that of skill and capital; thus, the '*chief masters*' of carpenters and masons are to receive fourpence a day, and the others threepence or twopence, according as they be worth; but every mason and carpenter, 'of whatever condition he be,' is to be compelled by '*his master whom he serves*' to do every work that pertains to him." "Where," continues Mr. Ludlow, "as it seems to me, the guild-masters are designated by the former expression, and the capitalist-masters by the latter."¹

XX. The increasing opulence of the towns, by withdrawing both workmen and labourers from the country, led to further legislation in 1444-5,² when the wages of labourers and artificers were again assessed, those of a "free mason"³ or master carpenter being limited to 4d. a day, with meat and drink, and 5d. without, and their winter wages to 3d. and 4d. respectively.⁴ It is, however, expressed that "*the same form shall be observed*" of wages of servants being with hostlers, victualers, and artificers in '*cites, burghs, and elsewhere*';⁵ and such as deserve less shall take less, and also in places where less is used to be given, less shall be given from henceforth."

The enforcement of this statute was left to the justices of the peace "*in their counties*,"⁷ who were to hear and determine all offences, to proclaim twice a year all unrepealed Acts of Parliament relating to labourers, artificers, etc., and to punish by fine or imprisonment.

Dr Kloss lays great stress on the circumstance of the execution of this law being solely confided to the *justices*, and considers that the presence of the mayors of cities and other officials named by the Act of 1427 (XVII.), having been "silently dispensed with," we are thereby enabled to fix more accurately the period at which the Halliwell poem was written, and as the attendance of these authorities, along with the justices, would, he thinks, have been, to say the least, superfluous, it is assumed, that the words of the manuscript point to an earlier date, and that consequently it could not have been written *after* 1444-45.

In this opinion, I cannot concur, that is, upon the evidence of the statute *simpliciter*; and the words italicised in my abstract of its clauses, represent the grounds on which I venture to dissent from the most accurate and diligent of masonic writers (XXI.).⁸

During the reign of Edward IV. very little notice was taken by the legislature of the labouring classes of the community, except by the statutes for regulating apparel. Servants in husbandry, common labourers, and artificers, were forbidden to wear any cloth, whereof the

¹ Macmillan's Magazine, vol. iii., 1861, p. 315 (Trade Societies, etc., by J. M. Ludlow).

² 28 Hen. VI., c. xii. The lot of country artificers appears to have been, indeed, a hard one. In 1440 warrants from the king were sent to the wardens of masons and carpenters at Eton, "veyng thayme powair to take, in what place so ever hit be, almanere of werkmen, laborers, and cariage, as shal seeme necessarie or behoueful in thaire craftes to the edifaccon of oure college of Eton" (Excerpta Historica, 1831, p. 45).

³ *Frank mason*. This would appear to be the earliest statutory expression which will bear the rendering in the text—*i.e.*, *free mason*.

⁴ The summer wages of a master tiler or slater, a rough mason, mesne carpenter, and "other artificers concerning building," were fixed at 3d. and 4d., and those of other labourers at 2d. and 1d.

⁵ "Mesme la fourme soit observez."

⁶ En Citez Burghs et aillours esteantz.

⁷ "En lour Counteez."

⁸ Cf. The Statutes of Liveries, 8 Edw. IV., c. ii

broad yard exceeded the price of 2s.¹ The solitary parliament which assembled at the bidding of his brother and successor, enacted that no alien should be a handcraftsman (*artifex ou handerafisman*) unless as a servant to the king's subjects.²

The accession of Henry VII. to the throne may be considered as the commencement of an era of internal tranquillity and industry. The statutes enacted in the reigns of his immediate predecessors, sent in each county to the justices of the peace, for them to proclaim and execute, including those against signs and liveries, routs and forcible entries, and for the regulation of the lower classes, were adequate to their intended purpose, and only required to be firmly put into execution.³ To effect this object, Henry, feeling the futility of merely enacting that the laws should be enforced, without providing a power to compel their enforcement, began by raising the formidable power of the Star Chamber, and then proceeded to call upon the local magistracy, under terror of that power, to enforce the laws.⁴ The utility of this court is extolled by Lord Bacon, and although even during the age of that historian, men began to feel that so arbitrary a jurisdiction was incompatible with liberty, and as the spirit of independence still rose higher in the nation, the aversion to it increased; still it is tolerably clear that the establishment of the Star Chamber, or the enlargement of its power in the reign of Henry VII., might have been as prudent as the abolition of it in that of Charles I.⁵

The local magistracy were thus strengthened and stimulated to put the laws in execution, more especially those directed against that which was the main mischief of those times, offences of force and violence, and combinations or retainers of men for unlawful purposes.⁶ The principal of these laws were, first, the statutes against liveries and retainers, and next, those relating to forcible entry. These statutes were enacted prior to Henry's accession, and when Hume says, "there scarcely passed any session during this reign without some statute against engaging retainers, and giving them badges or liveries, a practice by which they were in a manner enlisted under some great lord, and were kept in readiness to assist him in all wars, insurrections, riots, violences, and even in bearing evidence for him in courts of justice," he apparently forgets that they were only in pursuance of older statutes passed in earlier reigns.

The subject of liveries has already been noticed,⁷ and its further examination will now be proceeded with.

XXI. The stat. 1 Rich. II., c. vii., recites⁸—"Because that divers people of small revenue do make great retinue of people, giving to them hats (*chaperons*)⁹ and other liveries, of one suit by year, taking of them the value, or the double value of the same livery, by such

¹ 3 Edw. IV., c. v., 1463. Further regulations appear in the 22 Edw. IV., c. i.

² 1 Rich. III., c. ix.

³ "The Justices agreed that the statutes were sufficient, and if they were *executed*, the law would well have its course; but how could they be *executed*? that was the question" (Year-Book, 1 Hen. VII., fol. 1).

⁴ "That," says Lord Bacon, "which was chiefly aimed at was force, and the two great supports of force, combinations of multitudes and maintenance of headships of great families" (History of Henry VII., p. 38).

⁵ Hume remarks that the state of the country required great discretionary power in the sovereign, and that the same maxims of government will not suit a rude people that may be proper in a more advanced stage of society (History of England, vol. iii., p. 388. See also Sir J. Mackintosh, History of England, 1830, vol. ii., chap. iii.).

⁶ Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. iii., p. 124.

⁷ *Ante*, p. 345.

⁸ 1377.

⁹ *Chaperon*, a hood, hat, a kind of head-dress; *signe*, badge; *valletz*, the next condition to an esquire; *valles* or *vallez*, valets; *varlez*, servants; *varlet*, yeoman (R. Kelham, A Dictionary of the Norman or Old French Language, 1779).

covenant and assurance that every of them shall maintain other in all quarrels,¹ be they reasonable or unreasonable."

It confirms the statutes against maintenance, forbids under pain of imprisonment the giving of liveries for the maintenance of quarrels or other confederacies, and directs the justices of assize "to diligently enquire of all them that gather them together in fraternities (*en fraternitez*) by such livery, to do maintenance; and that they which thereof shall be found guilty, shall be duly punished, every man after the quantity of his desert."²

In 1392-93 it was further enacted³ that "no yeoman (*yoman*) nor other of lower estate than an Esquire,⁴ from henceforth shall use nor bear no livery, called livery of company (*livere de compaignie*), of any lord within the realm, if he be not continually dwelling in the house of the said lord."

The earliest of this series, the statute of "Liveries of Hats" (1377), was confirmed in 1396, chapter ii. of the Confirmatory Act,⁵ ordering—"Item, that no varlets called yeomen (*varletz appelle yomen*), nor none other of less estate than Esquire, shall use or bear no badge or livery,⁶ called livery of company of any Lord within the realm, unless he be menial or continual officer of his said Lord."

In the first year of King Henry IV,⁷ lords of whatever estate or condition were forbidden to "use nor give any livery of Sign of Company (*Signe de Compaigne*), to no Knight, Esquire, nor Yeoman,⁸ within the Realm, and that no valet called yeoman (*varlet appelle yoman*) take nor wear any livery of the King."

In the following year this statute was confirmed,⁹ and certain privileges were conceded to knights, esquires, and all above those ranks; and the Prince of Wales was permitted to "give his honourable livery of the Swan¹⁰ to lords and his menial gentlemen."

In 1405-6 the statutes of 1377 (Livery of Hats) and 1399 were confirmed,¹¹ and a fine of £5 imposed upon any knight or person of less estate "who gives a livery of Cloth or Hats," and of 40s. upon the recipient. It also forbids congregations and companies from using any such liveries, "the guilds and fraternities, and also the people of mysteries (*gentz de mestere*), of cities and boroughs within the realm" alone excepted.

Liveries are once again mentioned in this reign, namely, in 1411,¹² when the statutes passed

¹ "Que chescun de eux Mayntendra autre en toutz querelles."

² In all cases where quotations are given from statutes originally drawn up in French or Latin, I follow the wording of the authorised translation. The editors of the Statutes of the Realm, 1810, made numerous transcripts and collations of all instruments affording materials for notes and readings. "The transcript which appeared to be made from the most authentic source was used as the copy of the text to be printed. All the other transcripts and collations of the same instrument, as also the printed editions, were then compared and collated with this copy, and the requisite various readings noted accordingly" (Introduction, p. xl.).

³ 16 Rich. II., c. iv.

⁴ Sir Thomas Smith distinguishes the English below the rank of esquire into gentlemen, yeomen, and *rascalls* (Commonwealth of England, 1635, chap. xxi.). He also uses the word *rascallity* in the same sense.

⁵ 20 Rich. II., c. i., ii.

⁶ *Signe ne livree.* In earlier translations, "Sign of livery."

⁷ 1 Hen. IV., c. vii. (1399).

⁸ *Chivaler, Esquier, ne Vallet.* "Borel, in his 'Glossary,' says that the word *vallet* antiently was applied to the king's eldest son; and hence the *vallet*, or knave, follows the king and queen in a pack of cards" (Barrington, Observations on the More Ancient Statutes, p. 344).

⁹ 2 Hen. IV., c. xxi. (1400).

¹⁰ *Liverce del Cigne:* in earlier translations, "Liveries or sign."

¹¹ 7 Hen. IV., c. xiv.

¹² 13 Hen. IV., c. iii.

respectively in the first and seventh years of this King and in the first of Richard II. are confirmed.

All the statutes in force are recited in a very long enactment, passed early in the reign of Henry VI.;¹ further powers are given to the justices of assize and of the peace; and persons are prohibited from wearing, even at their own cost, liveries for maintenance in quarrels.

In 1468² the existing statutes were once more confirmed, and every person restrained from giving livery or badge (*livre ou signe*) to other than his menial servant, officer, or man learned in the one law or the other; and the mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, or chief officers, who in particular cities, boroughs, towns, or ports, have authority "to hear and determine pleas personal, are empowered to hear and determine, as well by *examination*³ as by trial, all things done," and to put the ordinance in execution. By a subsequent Act of this reign,⁴ Edward, Prince of Wales, was empowered to give his livery and sign.⁵

XXII. The preamble of the act of parliament, by which Henry VII. enlarged the power of the Star Chamber, is remarkable, and presents a clear picture of the condition of the nation at that period. "The king, our sovereign lord, remembereth how by unlawful maintenances, giving of liveries, *signs and tokens*, retainers by indentures, promises, oaths, writings, and other embraceries of his subjects, untrue demeanings of sheriffs in making panels, and untrue returns by taking money by juries, by great riots and unlawful assemblies, the policy and good rule of this realm is almost subdnd."⁶

It will be seen that Henry, so early as the third year of his reign, fully recognised the comparative anarchy of his kingdom. His great object was to *enforce* the existing laws, and put down all power of resistance to the royal authority. This object was steadily pursued throughout the reign.⁷

A story of the king's severity is related by Hume, which seems to merit praise, though commonly cited as an instance of his avarice and rapacity. The Earl of Oxford, having splendidly entertained him at his castle of Henningham, with all his servants and retainers wearing liveries and badges, Henry thanked him for his good cheer, but said, "I cannot allow my laws to be broken in my sight, my attorney must speak with you."⁸ His regard for the laws tended, in this instance—to what Blackstone holds to have been the great and immediate object of all his regulations—namely, to the emolument of the exchequer, as it is said the Earl paid a composition of 15,000 marks for his offence.

XXIII. I now pass on to the statute enacted in the eleventh year of the king (1495), a veritable *capitulary*, consisting of sixty-five chapters or laws, ranging through sixty-eight folio pages of the "Statutes of the Realm," and in which we obtain a foretaste of the appetite for legislation which our ancestors gradually acquired with increasing freedom.

¹ 8 Hen. VI., c. iv. (1429).

² 8 Edw. IV., c. ii.

³ Compare the observations of Kloss on the statutes of 1427 and 1444-5 (XVII., XX.).

⁴ 12 Edw. IV., c. iv. (1472).

⁵ The translations vary. In the Norman-French, the phrase, with slight aberrations of spelling (in the present instance, *livreis et signes*), is always "livre" or "liveree" and "signe," but the word *signe* in the earlier editions of the statutes is more correctly rendered as *badge*.

⁶ 3 Hen. VII., c. i. (1487).

⁷ Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. iii., p. 124.

⁸ Hume, History of England, vol. iii., p. 390.

The chapter I shall first notice is No. iii.¹ in the series of 1495. It deals with the evils complained of in the preamble of the law of 1487, and speaks of "gevyng and receyvynge of lyverees, signees, and tokyns, unlaufuly."

The preamble of the statute of 1487 (XXII.) appears to have escaped the research of masonic historians, but upon identical phraseology, which occurs in the subsequent legislation of 1495, a very singular interpretation has been placed. The *signs* and *tokens* have been regarded as *signs* of recognition, and *grips* of salutation! Even Kloss falls into this error, though, as he himself does not fail to perceive, these essential features of a secret society "must in such case have been usual with many trades." He might, indeed, have gone even further, for it is quite clear that the persons who received the liveries, signs, and tokens, mentioned in the statute, were people of all classes, even the lowest; consequently, therefore, if these expressions were capable of the meaning ascribed to them, secret modes of recognition, by operation of gesture and hand-shaking, must have been common throughout England in the Middle Ages. Our English masonic writers, except of late years, when they have been content to *follow* the German school, even in the interpretation of their own history, much as they have erred, never got quite so far as this.

In the pursuit of Masonic antiquity, possibility rather than probability was their watch-word; yet there is such a thing as proving too much, and in the present instance the identity of the *signs* and *tokens* of the Freemasons, with the *signs* and *tokens* which it was the object of these early statutes to repress, instead of confirming the Masonic body in the position of superiority it has arrogated to itself, would necessarily drag it down to the level of the meanest persons by whom these modes of recognition were commonly possessed.

In his "History of Freemasonry"—wherein Findel may be said to have popularised Kloss, although he has lessened the authority of that eminent writer, by intermingling his remarks with those of less critical historians²—the author says, "as in the case of the German stonemasons, so did the English masons at an early period form fraternities or associations, the members of which recognised each other by secret signs and tokens. . . . In 1495, all artisans and workmen were again forbidden to use liveries, signs, and tokens."³

Of the Tudor policy against liveries, retainers, etc., it has been observed by a learned writer, "nothing indicated more clearly that the elements of society were about to be thrown into new combinations, than the perseverance with which previous statutes against giving liveries and tokens were enforced, and with which their deficiencies were made good by new enactments. All the considerable landholders still regarded themselves as chieftains. All their inferiors in their neighbourhood were their retainers, to whom they gave liveries and tokens, and who, in other words, wore their uniform, and rallied to their standard. A common

¹ 11 Hen. VII., c. iii. : "An Acte agaynst unlawfull Assemblies and other offences contrary to former Statutes."

² Of this a good illustration is afforded by the proceedings of the "Batt Parliament," which Findel, in all good faith, copies from Preston. The latter says: "On the last day of April 1425 the Parliament met at Westminster. The servants and followers of the Peers, armed with clubs and staves, occasioned its being named the *Batt Parliament*. Several laws were made, and amongst the rest the *Act for abolishing the Society of Masons*; at least, for preventing their assemblies and congregations" (Illustrations of Masoury, 1792, p. 191). It will be sufficient to observe that the so-called "Parliament of Batts" was held at *Leicester* on February 18th, 1426, and the statute there enacted was the *fourth*, not the *third*, of Henry VI. (XVI.).

³ Findel, History of Freemasonry, pp. 78, 80. "In the year 1495, a statute was enacted by parliament, forbidding artisans of every description the use of 'signs and tokens'" (Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 130).

gift from chief to retainer seems to have been a badge [*sign*] to be worn in the cap. Thus one of the Stanleys was in the habit of giving to his followers 'the eagle's foot,' and one of the Darcies 'the buck's head.' These tokens were sometimes of silver and sometimes gilt, and were, no doubt, highly prized by those who received them.¹

The badge, cognisance, or sign of company, as it was variously termed, served as a recognition and distinction of party, of feudal allegiance and dependency, to both friends and foes. It was worn on the arm or cap. The signs and tokens mentioned in the statute (XXIII.) were badges² and cognisances; badges were the masters' device, crest, or arms, on a separate piece of cloth—or, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, on silver,—in the form of a shield, worn on the left sleeve by domestics and retainers, and even by younger brothers, who wore the badge of the elder. This was generally continued till the time of James I., after which it was only worn by watermen and servants of persons of distinction.³ The royal watermen still wear it. "Cognisances" were sometimes knots or devices worn in the caps or on the chest; some of the royal servants wore the king's arms both on the breast and on the back. "Reteydres" appear to have been the agreements, verbal or written, by which the retainers, sometimes called "Retinue," were engaged or retained.⁴

XXIV. We now approach what is virtually the last in the long series of enactments⁵ regulating with extreme precision the wages of labourers and artificers, which presents any features of originality, before the successive laws on this subject were codified by the 5th Elizabeth, c. iv.

The wages of artificers were again fixed,—a free mason,⁶ master carpenter, and rough mason were to take per day 4d. with diet, and 6d. without, between Easter and Michaelmas, and during the rest of the year 3d. and 5d. respectively. Master masons and master carpenters, taking charge of work and having under them six men, were to receive 5d. with diet, and 7d. without. The penalty for taking more was 20s.; and for giving more, 40s. During the summer half-year, each workman and labourer was to be at work before 5 A.M., to have half an hour for his breakfast, an hour and a half for his dinner, at such time as sleeping was permitted him; but at other times, then but one hour for his dinner, and half an hour for his "*none meat*" (XI.). Bricklayers and glaziers are mentioned for the first time.

From the words, that "if any of theym offend in any of theis articles, that then their defautes be marked by hym, or his deputie, that shall pay their wages."⁷ Kloss infers that we have here officials corresponding with our present foremen and wardens. It may be so; but whether or not any complete analogy can be established between the two sets of

¹ L. O. Pike, History of Crime in England, vol. i., p. 7; vol. ii., p. 604 (citing the *Baga de Secretis*, pouch iii., bundle i.; and the controlment-roll of the 15 Hen. VII.).

² Chapter xiv. of the same statute mentions "livere, bagge [badge], token, or signe" (Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii., 1816, p. 658).

³ John Rae, Introduction to the Statutes of Henry VII., pp. vii.-ix.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ 11 Hen. VII., c. xxii. (1495).

⁶ The word *freemason* occurs here for the first time in the actual statutes, although, as we have seen (XX.), the term was evidently signified by *frank mason* in the act of 1444-5.

⁷ This form of words also occurs in a statute of the next reign (XXVI.), virtually re-enacting the regulations passed in 1495.

persons, the observation is so illustrative of the commentator's microscopic examination of these, now, happily, obsolete laws, that I have much pleasure in quoting it.¹

XXV. In the nineteenth year of the king, on the petition of the commons, that the stat. 15 Henry VI., c. vi. (XIX.), had expired, it was ordained that masters, wardens, and fellowships of crafts or mysteries, and the rulers of guilds and fraternities, should make or enforce no new ordinances without the approval of the chancellor, a chief justice, three judges of the land, or before both the justices of assize in their circuit.²

At this point it will be convenient to cast a backward glance upon the two chief statutes aimed at the working masons, viz., the laws of 1360 and 1425 (III, XVI), and the later Act of 1437 (XIX.). Throughout these there is one common feature—the desire of the legislature to curb the increasing independence of the craft guilds, and to restrain them from passing articles or regulations for their internal government, which were at variance with the course of policy steadily pursued from the reign of Edward III. down to that of Queen Elizabeth. A further manifestation of the general intention of the legislature appears in a statute of 1549 (XXXI), upon which, in its proper place, I shall offer some remarks, supplementary to those in which I have just pointed out the special thread of union connecting the legislation of 1360, 1425, and 1437.

It may be convenient, however, at this stage of our inquiry, to consider a little more closely the class, or classes, of persons whose earnings and liberty of action were chiefly affected by the provisions of the long series of laws known as the Statutes of Labourers.

I conceive that these enactments—though all launched in the furtherance of a common object, the repression of extortion—partook, nevertheless, of a mixed character. In general, I assume them to have been dictated by the wants of the country districts, whilst those specially referring to practices—the making of ordinances, the holding of conventicles, and the like—only possible in towns, or in places where many workmen were assembled, must, I think, have been evoked, either by a persistence in these forbidden customs, or by complaints that country artificers, fugitives from their counties, were harboured in the cities, and there admitted to the freedom of their trades.

Even in London, where the rules respecting the freedom of the city were very rigid, workmen and labourers, who in 1353 had left the king's palace at Westminster without leave, were allowed to follow their occupations, and this licence was only withdrawn in obedience to a peremptory mandate of the king.³ In other cities and towns, we may infer that fugitives were similarly received; and it is therefore in the highest degree probable that, wherever a *statutory* obligation is cast upon the mayors or chief governors of towns to see the laws relating to

¹ The 11 Hen. VII., c. xxii., "touching only the *wagis* of artificers, labourers, and others," was repealed in 1497 by the 12 Hen. VII., c. iii., according to Sir F. Eden, owing to the high price of corn (State of the Poor, vol. i., p. 76); but Sir G. Nicholls says, "Wolsey's influence was now in the ascendant: he was a great patroniser of building and builders, and probably interested himself to procure the repeal" (A History of the English Poor Law, 1854, vol. i., p. 111).

² The merchant tailors' records mention that company's ordinances to have been laid before the Lord Chancellor on the 23d of January 1612; and that their clerk informed the Court that it was the advice of the city recorder "he should be presented with some remembrance for the better finishing of that business." The Court, it is added, agreed thereon "to attend the recorder to intreat him to *more* his Lordship in their suit, and at the same time to present him with ten double sufferants (sovereigns) in gold" (Herbert, Companies of London, vol. i., p. 188).

³ Riley, Memorials of London, p. 271.

labourers duly executed—except in the few instances to which I have already called attention¹—these officials were only required to supplement the duties of the justices in *counties*, by promptly arresting fugitives, and delivering them up for punishment.

In the words of a famed historian, “If there were really a decay of commerce, and industry, and populousness in England, the statutes passed in the reign of Henry VIII., except by abolishing monasteries and retrenching holidays, circumstances of considerable moment, were not in other respects well calculated to remedy the evil.”² The fixing of the rate of wages was attempted;³ luxury in apparel was prohibited by repeated statutes;⁴ and probably without effect. The chancellor and other ministers were empowered to fix the price of poultry, cheese, and butter.⁵ A statute was even passed to fix the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal.⁶ Beef and pork were ordered to be sold at a halfpenny a pound, mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing, money of that age.⁷

XXVI. The first law of this reign with which we are concerned was passed in 1514;⁸ and is a re-enactment *verbatim* of the Act of 1495 (XXIII.), which we have seen was only in force one year; miners, diggers for coal, and makers of glass, alone were exempted from its provisions.

Sir George Nicholls says, “The twenty years which had since elapsed seem to have called for no change in the rate of wages then fixed, and which differed little from those prescribed in 1444 by the 23 Henry VI. (XX.); so that, after an interval of seventy years, we find no material difference in the rates of remuneration prescribed for labour.”⁹

XXVII. In the following year, however, “on the humble petycyon of the freemasons, rough masons, carpenters,” and other artificers “wythin the Cytie of London,” and in consideration of the heavy expenses to which they were subject, it was enacted that, except when employed on the king’s works, the artificers, labourers, and their apprentices, working within the city or the liberty of the same, might take the same wages which they had been in the habit of doing prior to the statute of 1514. By the last clause of this Act, the penalty imposed upon the giver of excessive wages by the previous law was repealed.¹⁰

Although the remaining laws enacted in this reign, relating to journeymen, apprentices, and artificers, were rather calculated for particular trades and employments, under particular circumstances, some few were of more general import, and therefore demand our attention.

XXVIII. The exaction of high fees for the admission of apprentices to their freedom was guarded against.¹¹ No master was to compel his apprentice to engage by oath or bond not to open a shop; and in this as well as in the previous statute (XXVII.), the practice of guilds,

¹ Where the act forbids combinations, conventicles, and the making of ordinances.

² Hume, History of England, vol. iv., p. 243.

³ 6 Hen. VIII., c. iii.

⁴ 1 Hen. VIII., c. xiv.; 6 Hen. VIII., c. i.; 7 Hen. VIII., c. vii.

⁵ 25 Hen. VIII., c. ii.

⁶ 24 Hen. VIII., c. iii.

⁶ 6 Hen. VIII., c. iii.

⁷ Hume, History of England, vol. iv., p. 243.

⁷ 7 Hen. VIII., c. v.

⁸ A History of the English Poor Law, 1854, vol. i., p. 110.

¹¹ 22 Hen. VIII., c. iv. (1530-31).

crafts, and fraternities in making "actes and ordynances," without submitting them for confirmation, is denounced and forbidden.¹

The laws just cited prove that the custom of travelling, or as Dr Kloss expresses it, "the wandering years of the finished apprentice," was not usual in this country, yet we should go too far were we to assume, from the absence of this distinctive feature in the career of the young craftsman, that with ceremonies at all resembling those of the French and German journeymen, he must have been necessarily unfamiliar. Journeymen fraternities sprang up in England as in other countries, and though the evidence is not conclusive as to the perpetuation of these societies, the balance of probability seems to affirm it. Dugdale, in his account of Coventry, observes that, in the reign of Henry V., "the young people, viz., journeymen of several trades,—observing what merry meetings and feasts their masters had by belonging to fraternities, and wanting themselves the like pleasure, did of their own accord assemble together in several places of the city, which occasioned the mayor and his brethren in 3 Hen. VI. (XVI.) to complain thereof to the king, alleging that the said journeymen, in these their unlawful meetings, called themselves St George his gild, to the intent that they might maintain and abet one another in quarrels, etc.; had made choyce of a master, etc., to the prejudice of the other gilds."²

In London these organisations met with little favour from the authorities, and when, in 1387, three journeymen cordwainers endeavoured to establish a fraternity, they were committed to Newgate, having confessed "that a certain friar preacher, 'Brother William Bartone' by name, had made an agreement with their companions, and had given security to them, that he would make suit in the court of Rome for confirmation of that fraternity by the Pope; so that, on pain of excommunication, and of still more grievous sentence afterwards to be fulminated, no man should dare to interfere with the well-being of the fraternity. For doing the which he had received a certain sum of money which had been collected among their said companions."³

In 1396, the serving men or *yomen* of the trade of saddlers were charged by the masters with having, "under a certain feigned colour of sanctity," influenced the journeymen among them, and formed covins with the object of raising their wages greatly in excess. Although this fraternity possessed its own livery and had existed for thirteen years, it was suppressed.⁴

The same fate befell, in 1415, the brotherhood of *yomen taillours*, charged with holding assemblies and *conventicles* (XVI.), and who were forbidden "to live together in companies by

¹ 28 Hen. VIII., c. v. "As to apprentices, there were a score of acts, beginning with one in the last reign, either compelling masters to take apprentices, or restricting them to a certain number" (Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. iv., p. 260, note d).

² Antiquities of Warwickshire, 1675, p. 130.

³ Riley, Memorials of London, p. 495. In 1412 Simon Flegge, notary, and his two clerks, for having "counterfeited divers Bulls, sealed with lead, like unto the seal of the most reverend father in Christ, and Lord, our Lord the Pope; and divers other letters sealed with the seals of other noble persons; and who had sold the same to divers persons for no small sum, affirming that the said letters and seals were genuine;" were sentenced by the civic authorities "to be put upon the pillory on three market days, there to stand for one hour each day, each of them having in the meantime one of the Papal Bulls so falsely made and counterfeited hung about his neck" (*Ibid.*, p. 583). From these entries in the city records we may infer that there must have been a strong demand for Papal seals and letters, and they suggest a very simple solution of the *crux* which has hitherto baffled the historians of Freemasonry. See *ante*, pp. 176, 258, 297.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 542. Mr Riley says, that the title *yoman* first appears in the city books about this period. See the Statutes of Liveries (XXI.); and *ante*, p. 343, note 2.

themselves," or to wear an especial suit or livery without the permission of the masters and wardens of the trade.¹

Two years later, however, the brotherhood was still in existence, as they then petitioned the city authorities that the "fellows of that fraternity of *yomen*" might be allowed to hold annual religious services for the souls of the brethren and sisters deceased, and "to do other things which theretofore they had been wont to do." The entry in the records here abruptly ceases, so that the result of this petition does not appear, but it is probable that it was refused.²

In deciding the question whether there existed special organisations of the journeymen within the crafts, an ordinance of the clothworkers' company is worthy of our consideration:³ "The master, wardens, and assistants shall choose the warden of the yeomandry, they shall governe the yeomandry and journeymen in such sort as in former times hath been used." Commenting upon this ordinance, Brentano observes: "Were these wardens of the yeomanry the same as the masters who, as in the German gilds, were delegated to the fraternities of journeymen? And may we therefrom form a conclusion as to the existence of fraternities of like nature in England? The ceremonies which were customary among the trade unions in the woollen manufacture down to the thirtieth year of the present century, show such a striking similarity to those of the German fraternities of journeymen, that the supposition suggests itself of a derivation of those trade unions from the old journeymen fraternities."⁴

As militating, however, against this hypothesis, it is contended that in England the journeymen were never obliged by the guild ordinances to travel for a certain number of years, whilst in Germany and France all journeymen's associations owed their origin to this system of travelling. But in the first place there is *some* evidence that the practice of travelling in search of work was, to say the least, not unknown in England (IX.). In 1794 there was a club among the woolcombers, and out of a hundred workmen there was not one to be found who did not belong to it. Every member had to pay contributions according to the wants of the society, and its object was to assist journeymen travelling in search of work when work was scarce, and to relieve the sick and to bury the dead members.⁵

"It will be seen," says Brentano, "that the objects of this club were the same as those of the German *Gesellenladen* and the French *compagnons*. If we add to this that the just quoted records of ceremonies among trade unions refer to woolcombers also, the suggestion already made seems greatly corroborated; and the fact that the modern trade unions call the assistance given to members out of work simply *donation*, the translation of the *Geschenk* of the German journeymen's fraternities, seems also worth noticing."⁶

Secondly, the term of apprenticeship extended over a longer period in England than in

¹ Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 609.

² *Ibid.*, p. 653.

³ The Government of the Fullers, Shearmen, and Clothworkers of London (*circa*, A.D. 1650 [reprinted 1881], Ord. xix., p. 20).

⁴ Brentano, *On the History and Development of Gilds*, p. 95.

⁵ *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. xlix., pp. 322-324; Brentano, *On the History and Development of Gilds*, p. 96, note 1.

⁶ Brentano, *On the History and Development of Gilds*, p. 99. Brentano adds: "There is, however, one difference to be noted. The said woolcombers travelled only when work was scarce, while the 'wandering' of the German, and the *Tour de France* of the French journeyman, were obligatory." From this, as well as the date, he regards the woolcombers' club as a trade union, for assisting men thrown out of work by the gig-mill, "but which may perhaps have descended from an old journeymen's fraternity."

either France or Germany, and in point of duration corresponded pretty closely with the stages or gradations through which the foreign craftsman worked his way towards the common goal. Thus the English workman found his preliminary servitude in no respect abridged by the absence of any trade regulation compelling him to travel, and whilst, as we have seen (XIX., XXVIII.), the number of masters was rigorously kept down, and the obstacles to attaining freedom of the trade at least as great in the case of English as of foreign artisans,¹ the former, from the very circumstances of their position, that is to say, by the mere fact of a more extended probation, would be induced to form *local* fraternities for social and trade purposes. That they did so, is matter of history, and Stow records the rising of the London apprentices because some of their *brotherhood* had been unjustly, as they averred, cast into prison and punished.²

During this reign so great was the number of foreign artisans in the city, that at least fifteen thousand Flemings alone were at one time obliged to leave it, by an order of Council.³ Whatever trade societies or fraternities were in general use on the Continent, I apprehend, must have passed over to this country about the period of the Reformation. It might be imagined, that the foreign artificers who settled in England were least affected by the usages of the trades, and preserved greater freedom of action between the period following the abolition of guilds, and preceding the enactment of the stat. 4 Eliz., c. v. Inasmuch, as with the exception of the London companies, who purchased exemption from the statutes of spoliation,⁴ and, moreover, were at all times specially legislated for (XXXII.), the ordinances of the craft-guilds—invariably directed against the competition of non-freemen—were inoperative. Yet such was not the case, and even in London, where the jealousy of foreign workmen was at its height, we find that, owing, no doubt, to their surpassing the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality, they were not only tolerated, but, in spite of vexatious laws,⁵ attained such a pitch of prosperity as to incur the most violent animosity of their English rivals. There were serious insurrections in 1517 and 1586, and in 1641 the feeling of exasperation which had been engendered gave rise to a petition to parliament from the London apprentices, complaining of the intolerable hardships to which they were subject, “where we, by coercion, are necessarily compelled to serve seven or eight years at least before we can have the immunity and freedom of this city to trade in: those which are mere strangers do snatch this freedom from us, and pull the trades out of our hands, so that by these means, when our times are fully expired, we do then begin in a manner to suffer a second apprenticeship to them, who do thus domineer over us in our own trades.”⁶

A remarkable circumstance of the statutes of Henry VIII. is the prodigious length to

¹ Brentano says: “The laws under Henry VIII. point to such great difficulties hindering apprentices in all trades from becoming masters, that their exasperation led to repeated insurrections” (On the History and Development of Gilds, p. 86).

² Strype's Stow, 1720, pp. 332, 333.

³ Hume, History of England, vol. iv., p. 241.

⁴ Herbert, Companies of London, vol. i., p. 114.

⁵ For instance, by the 14 and 15 Hen. VIII., c. ii., no stranger born out of the king's obedience, whether denizen or not, and using any handicraft, was to have any apprentice, nor more than two journeymen unless natural-born subjects, whilst strangers and their wares were to be subject to the inspection of the wardens and fellowships of handicrafts in the city. Further restrictions were imposed by the 21 Hen. VIII., c. xvi., and 32 Hen. VIII., c. xvi.

⁶ The Apprentices of London's Petition to the Honourable Conr of Parliament, 1641, British Museum Library; Strype's Stow, p. 333; Brentano, On the History and Development of Gilds, p. 86; Hume, History of England, vol. iv., p. 240.

which they run. "The sense," says Mr Reeves, "involved in repetitions, is pursued with pain, and almost escapes the reader; while he is retarded and made giddy by a continual recurrence of the same form of words in the same endless period."¹ Happily, we are but slightly concerned with the further legislation of this reign, which, though of surpassing interest to the general student, bears only indirectly upon the subject of our investigation.

XXIX. The "small abbeys, priories, and other religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns" were suppressed in 1536; and three years afterwards the dissolution of the larger abbeys and monasteries was decreed by the 31 Hen. VIII., c. xiii., which, as Barrington expresses it, "laid the axe to the root of popery."² The preamble of this statute recites a *voluntary and free surrender* by the ecclesiastical houses, and the enactment is in consequence added by the same commentator, "without hesitation, to the list of statutes which recite falsehoods."³

It is calculated that about fifty thousand persons were wont to lead an idle and useless life in the English monastic institutions, and that by the dissolution of these establishments, and the abrogation of clerical celibacy together, about a hundred and fifty thousand persons of both sexes heretofore withdrawn from marriage, were added to the force by which the population is kept up.⁴

XXX. The last remains of superstitious establishments were destroyed by the first statute of the following reign. The 1 Edw. VI., c. xiv., gave to the king all chantries, colleges, and free chapels, all lands given for the finding of a priest for ever, or for the maintenance of any anniversary, *obit*, light or lamp in any church or chapel, or the like; all *fraternities, brotherhoods, and guilds* (except those for mysteries and crafts), with all their lands and possessions.⁵

In support of the position, that the working class in England, as in Germany and France, was completely organised, and even to a certain extent governed itself under the superintendence of the masters, the following statute of this reign, passed in 1548, has been much relied on :

XXXI. 2 AND 3 EDWARD VI., CHAPTER XV., A.D. 1548.

An Acte towchinge Victuallers and Handycrafites men.

FORASMUCHE as of late dayes diverse sellers of vittayles, not contented with moderate and reasonable gayne but myndinge to have and to take for their vittayles so muche as lyste them, have conspyred and covenanted together to sell their vittolls at unreasonable

¹ Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. iv., p. 423.

² Barrington, Observations on the More Ancient Statutes, p. 507.

³ *Ibid.* Barrington here goes a little further than Mr Pike, who says, "The preambles of statutes, however valuable they may be as an indication of contemporary opinion, are of little authority as abstracts of previous history" (Pike, History of Crime in England, vol. ii., p. 68).

⁴ Nicholls, History of the English Poor Law, vol. i., p. 129.

⁵ "There are several exceptions in this act which have saved some of the least objectionable of these institutions (stripped, however, of their superstitions), and such as were only included in the expressions of the act, but not in its design, as the universities and colleges for learning and piety" (Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. iv., p. 456).

price; and lykwise Artyficers handycraftsmen and laborers have made confederacyes and pmysses [promises], and have sworn mutuall othes, not onlye that they shoulde not meddle one with an others worke, and pforme [perform] and fynishe that an other hath begone, but also to constitute and appoynt howe muche worke they Shoulde doe in a daye, and what howers and tymes they shall worke, contrarie to the Lawes and Statutes of this Realme, to the greate hurte and ympoverishelement of the Kinges Majesties Subjectes.

1. For Reformacōn thereof it is ordeyned and enacted by the Kinge our Soveraigne Lorde the Lords & Cōmons in this present Parliament assembled, and by thanctoritie of the same, that yf any Bochers, Bruers, Bakers, Poulters, Cooks, Costerdmongers, or Frewterers, shall at any tyme from and after the first daye of Marche next cōmyng, conspire covenānte promyse or make any othes that they shall not sell their vittelles but at certen prices; or yf any Artificers Workemen or Laborers doe conspire covenānte or promyse together or make any othes that they shall not make or doe their workes but at a certeyne price and rate, or shall not enterprice or take upon them to fynishe that another hath begonne, or shall doe but a eerten worke in a daye, or shall not worke but at certen howers and tymes, that then everie person so conspiring covenāntinge swearinge or offendinge beinge laufullye convicte thereof by witnes confession or otherwise, shall forseyt for the first offence tenne pounds to the King's Highness, and yf he have sufficient to paye the same and doe also paye the same within sixe dayes next after his conviccion, or ells shall suffer for the firste offence twentie dayes ymprisonment, and shall onely have bread and water for his sustenance; and for the seconde offence shall forseyt twentie pounds to the Kinge, yf he have sufficient to paye the same and doe pay the same within sixe dayes next after his conviccion, or ells shall suffer for the seconde offence punyshement of the pillorye; and for the third offence shall forseyt fourtye pounds to the Kinge, yf he have sufficient to paye the same and also doe paye the same within sixe dayes next after his conviccion, or ells shall *sytt on the pillorye and lose one of his cares*, and also shall at all tymes after that be taken as a man infamous and his sayinges, deposicous or othe, not to be credyted at anye tyme in any matters of judgement.

And yf it fortune any suche conspiracye covenante or promyse to be had and made by any socyetie brotherhed or companye, of any crafte mysterie or occupacion of the vytellers above mencōned, with the presence or consent of the more parte of them, that then ymediatly upon suche acte of conspiracye covenante or promise had or made, over and besides the particular punyshment before by this acte appoynted for the offendour, their corporacion shalbe dissolved to all intents construccions and purposes.

2. And it is further ordeyned and enacted by the authoritie aforesaide, that all and singuler Justices of Assise Justices of Peace Maiors Bayllies and Stewards of Leets¹ at all and everye their Sessions Leets and Courts, shall have full power and auctoritie to enquire heare and determyne all and singuler offences comytted agynste this Statute, and to punyshe or cause to be punyshed the offendour accoordinge to the tenor of this Estatute.

¹ At the Leet, or Law-day, by-laws for self-governance were made by the inhabitants of a city, or the tenants of a manor. Every male, of fit age, was bound to attend, and was liable to be fined if absent (Smith, English Gilds, pp. 370, 411, 439). In the practice of the *assembly*, or head meeting-day, of the gilds frequently corresponding with the Leet, or Law-day, may perhaps be found an explanation of those expressions in the Halliwell poem, upon which the theory of Dr Kloss has been erected. This supposition is strengthened to some extent by the omission of any reference to the "Justices" in that ancient manuscript (XII., XVII.).

3. And it is ordeyned and enacted by thauctorite aforesaid, that noe pson or ps ons shall at anye tyme after the firste daye of Aprill next cōmynge, interrupte denye lett or disturb any Fremason roughmason carpenter bricklayer playsterer joyner hardhewer sawyer tyler payyer glasyer lymeburner brickmaker tylemaker plumber or laborer, borne in this Realme or made Denizon, to worke in anye of the saide Crafts in anye cittie Borouge or Towne corporate with anye pson or ps ons that will retain him or them; albeit the sayde pson and ps ons so reteyned or any of them doe not inhabyte or dwell in the Cittie Borouge or Towne corporate where he or they shall worke, nor be free of the same Cittie Borouge or Towne; any Statute, Lawe, Ordeynaunce, or other thinge whatsoeuer, had or made to the contrarie in any wise notwithstandinge; and that upon payne of forfeyture of fyve pounde for everie interruptiōn or disturbance done contrarie to this estatute, the one moytie of everye suche forfeyture to be to the Kinge, and thother moytie therof to be to him or them that will sue for the same in anye of the Kings Courts of Recorde by bill pleint accion of dett or informacion wherin noe wager of lawe essoyne nor protection shalbe allowed.

This enactment forms the last link in the chain of statutes relating to *combinations*¹ and *confederacies* to enhance the wages of labour, which it is my purpose to review (III., XVI., XIX., XXV.). In the opinion of Sir George Nicholls, the restrictions which the legislature endeavoured to put down "were imposed on workmen by the *artisans themselves*, prescribing who should and who should not work, the quantity of work which each man should perform, and the particular times he should be employed."² A contrary interpretation is, however, placed on the act by Brentano, who contends that as all regulations forbidden in the statute recur frequently in the by-laws of companies, they originated quite as much in agreements of masters as of workmen. "Moreover," he continues, "whilst the word '*labourers*' certainly does not refer to the skilled workmen of the crafts, and probably to servants in husbandry only, the prohibition of confederacies of *artificers* and *handicraftsmen* is directed as much against the masters as against the workmen of the crafts. And the act forbids, in the same breath with the confederacies of the craftsmen in general, all conspiracies of 'divers sellers of victuals' for raising prices. The act, therefore, does not refer at all to combinations similar to those of our working men of the present day, but is simply an attempt to check the increasing abuses of the craft gilds, and this especially in the trades providing for men's daily wants, where such abuses would be felt most keenly."³

XXXII. The fourth clause of this statute (XXXI.) was repealed in the following year, on the ground that it bore with undue severity upon the artificers and craftsmen of the city of London, whence it has been erroneously concluded that the legislation of 1549 referred solely

¹ See F. D. Longe, Sketch of the History of Legislation in England relating to Combinations of Workmen (Reprinted in the Report on Trades Societies and Strikes, presented to the Association for the Promotion of National Science, 1860).

² Nicholls, History of the English Poor Law, vol. i., p. 138.

³ Brentano, On the History and Development of Gilds, p. 94. Brentano further compares the act with its German counterpart, "The Imperial Code of Police of 1577," title 27; and concludes, "that in any case the law of 1548 refers only to transitory combinations, and the existence of a regular organisation of the working class cannot be inferred from it" (*Ibid.*).

to the metropolis.¹ The stat. 3 and 4 Edw. VI., c. xx., first recites in full the particular section of the earlier enactment which it is intended to repeal, and continues:

“And Forasmuche as in the Cittie of London beinge the Kinges chambre and most auncyent Cittie of this Realme, the Artificers and Crafts men of the Artes crafts and mysteries aforesaide are at greate costs and charges, as well in bearinge and payinge of Taxes tallages subsidyes Scott lott and other charges, as well to the Kings Majestie as to the saide Cittie, and at manye and sondrye tryumphles and other tymes for the Kings honor, and that yf forens² sholde come and worke amongst them within the libties of the said Cittie contrarye to their auncyent priveleges, that the same shoulde be a great decay of conyng, and an ympoverishment and drivinge awaye of the free men being Artificers of the Crafts artes and mysteries aforesaide within the saide Cittie of London, to the great hurte or destrucyon of the saide Cittie: For reformacion whereof the Kings Majestie ys pleased and contented that it be enacted by thauitorie of this present parliament with the assent of the Lords Spirituall and temporall, and of the Cōmons of this present parliament assembled, that the saide Acte, onely touchinge the article and clause aforesaide, and all and everie sentence and braunche conteyned in the saide Acte concernynge the same Article,³ shall from henceforthe be resumed repealed adnulled revoked adnichilated and utterlye made voyde for ever; Anye thinge conteyned in the saide former Acte towchinge the Clawse or Article aforesaide to the contrarie notwithstandinge.”

A later chapter of the same statute requires every person who has three apprentices in the crafts of clothmen, weavers, tailors, and shoemakers, to keep one journeyman.⁴

XXXIII. The Statutes of Labourers, which had been accumulating from the time of Edward III., but had been in general too oppressive to be executed, were codified by the 5 Eliz., c. iv.,⁵ and made applicable to all the trades then existing. It is, in fact, a selection from all the preceding enactments on the subject of labour; those provisions deemed usefull being retained, others modified, and the rest repealed.⁶

The persons affected by it may be divided into four classes—artificers, menial servants, labourers, and apprentices. The following is an abstract of its provisions:

3, 4.⁷ No one shall be retained for less than a year in certain trades (*Seyenes, Craftes, Mysteries, or Artes*),⁸ and every person unmarried, and every married person under thirty

¹ Kloss indeed remarks that it is not plainly declared whether the repeal concerned London alone, or the whole kingdom; but Findel states (and has been followed by Steinbrenner and Fort): “In 1548 all the building crafts were permitted to freely practise their art in all the kingdoms; but this license was again revoked in the following year, except so far as concerned the city of London” (History of Freemasonry, p. 80).

² *Foreign, forene, forynar*—not belonging to the borough, city, or craft.

³ It is quite certain, from the wording of this statute, that the *whole* of clause iv. of the 2 and 3 Edw. VI., c. xv., was repealed.

⁴ 3 and 4 Edw. VI., c. xxii. Although Dr Kloss reads this enactment as applying to the building trades, it is not capable of such interpretation.

⁵ Frequently referred to as the “Statute of Apprentices;” explained and extended by the 39 Eliz., c. xii.; 4 Eliz., c. ix.; 1 James I., c. vi.; and 21 James I., c. xxviii. Repealed by the 54 Geo. III., c. 96.

⁶ Nicholls, History of the English Poor Law, vol. i., p. 157.

⁷ These numbers correspond with those prefixed to the various clauses of the statute.

⁸ Clothiers, woollen-cloth weavers, tuckers, fullers, cloth-workers, shermen, dyers, hosiers, tailors, shoemakers, tanners, pewters, bakers, brewers, glovers, cutlers, smiths, farriers, curriers, saddlers, spurriers, turners, cappers, hat or felt makers, bowyers, fletchers, arrowhead-makers, butchers, cooks or millers.

years of age, brought up in the said trades, or having exercised them for three years, not having lands of clear 40s. per annum, nor goods to the value of £10, and so allowed by two justices, or the mayor or head officer of the peace where he last dwelt for a year; nor being retained already in husbandry, or the above trades, nor in any other; nor in service of any nobleman gentleman, or other; nor having a farm whereon to employ himself in tillage; such person shall serve in the trade he has been brought up in, if required.

5. No person shall put away such servant, nor shall the servant depart unless for reasonable cause to be allowed before two Justices, the Mayor, or other chief officer.

12, 13. Respecting artificers and labourers being hired for wages *by the day or week*, certain orders are made about their times of work and rest; and as to those "retained in and for the building or repairing of any church, house, ship, mill, or every other piece of work taken in great, in task, or in gross, or that shall hereafter take upon him to make or finish any such thing or work, shall continue, and not depart from the same, unless it be for not paying their wages," or without licence of the master or owner of the work, or of the person having charge thereof, before finishing, under pain of a month's imprisonment, and forfeiture of £5.

15-19. As to the wages, whether of servants, labourers, or artificers, either working by the year, day, or otherwise, they are to be settled yearly at the Easter sessions, by the Justices of the Peace, within the limits of their several commissions, "*the Sheriff of that county*, if he conveniently may, and every Mayor, Bailiff, or other head officer within any city or town corporate, wherein is any Justice of the Peace" (XVII., XX.), to be certified on parchment to the chancellor, and afterwards proclaimed on market-day, and fixed up in some open place. Persons giving more wages than allowed by the proclamation are to be imprisoned ten days; and those taking more, twenty-one days.

22. The Justices, and also the Constable, upon request, may compel such artificers and persons "as be meet to labour," to serve in harvest of hay or corn, in mowing and reaping; and if any refuse, he is to be put in the stocks for two days and one night.

26. Every householder, being twenty-four years of age, living in a city or town corporate, and exercising any art, mystery, or manual occupation, may have the son of any freeman, not occupying husbandry, nor being a labourer, and living in that or some other city or town corporate, as an apprentice, after the custom of London, for seven years at least, so as the term do not expire before the apprentice shall be of the age of twenty-four years.

27. Merchants not to take apprentices, except their own sons, and those whose parents possess an estate of freehold, of the annual value of 40s.

28. In market towns not corporate, any householder of twenty-four years old, exercising any art, mystery, or manual occupation, may have as apprentice the child of any other artificer, dwelling in any market town in the same shire.

30. The son of any person, though his father has no lands, may be put apprentice to a smith, wheelwright, plough-wright, mill-wright, carpenter, "roughe mason," plasterer, sawyer, lime-burner, brickmaker, bricklayer, tiler, slater, "healyer,"¹ tile-maker, linen-weaver, turner, cooper, miller, earthen-potter, woollen-weaver, fuller, burner of ore, and thatcher or shingler.

31. To encourage this kind of service, it was further enacted, that no one shall exercise

¹ A maker of tiles for roofs. In Worcester the tilers were called *hillyers* (Smith, English Gilds, p. 398).

any craft, mystery, or occupation, *then used*, or occupied within the realm of England or Wales, except he shall have been brought up therein seven years at the least as an apprentice, nor set any person on work in the same, except an apprentice, or one who, having served as an apprentice, becomes a journeyman, or is hired by the year.

33. Every cloth-maker, fuller, sheerman, weaver, tailor, or shoemaker, having three apprentices, shall retain and keep one journeyman; and for every apprentice above three, one other journeyman.

35. Any person required by a householder to become an apprentice in husbandry, or in any other kind of art, mystery, or science, may, upon refusal to serve, be committed to ward till he consents, but

36. No person shall be bounden to enter into any apprenticeship, other than such as be under the age of twenty-one years.

40. The citizens and freemen of London and Norwich may take, have, and retain, apprentices there, in such manner and form as they have previously done.

The Statute of Apprentices (XXXIII.), though requiring in very unequivocal words, a seven years' apprenticeship, in all trades then followed in England, wheresoever they should be carried on, has been held to extend only to cities and market-towns, and that a person may exercise as many trades as he pleases in a country village, although he has not served a seven years' apprenticeship to each;¹ also that a man who had been duly apprenticed, might go anywhere, and was not compelled to practise his trade only where he happened to have been apprenticed.²

The strict limitation of the statute to such trades as were established in England before the 5th of Elizabeth, gave rise to some singular distinctions. For example, a coachmaker could neither himself make, nor employ journeymen to make, his coach-wheels, and was compelled to buy them of a master wheelwright; the latter trade having been exercised in England before the 5th of Elizabeth. But a wheelwright, though he had never served an apprenticeship to a coachmaker, might either himself make, or employ journeymen to make, coaches; the trade of a coachmaker not being within the statute, because not exercised in England at the time it was made.³

So long, however, as the regulations of the Statute of Apprentices were maintained, the position of the journeymen was secure, and whilst obtaining—what they chiefly desired—regularity of employment, and in the time of plenty “a convenient proportion of wages,” the hours of employment were not excessive, and the restrictions as to apprentices prevented skilled workmen from being degraded to the level of common labourers.⁴

¹ It was also determined by the judges that he served as an apprentice who for seven years has been working as a master (2 Wils. Rep., 168).

² Reeves, History of the English Law (W. F. Finlason), 1869, vol. iii., p. 594.

³ For the same reason many of the manufacturers of Manchester, Birmingham, and Wolverhampton, were not within the statute (see Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations, vol. i., p. 187). Sir F. Eden remarks: “Can it be asserted that youth are more employed, or more industrious, in those places to which the Statute of Apprenticeship is confined, than in those parts of the country where they are at liberty to set up a trade, as soon as they conceive themselves sufficiently skilful to carry it on?” (State of the Poor, vol. i., p. 432).

⁴ Brentano, On the History and Development of Gilds, p. 104. Strangely enough, both “lawful” and “unlawful” artificers—which I understand to mean, workmen respectively *free* and *not free*, of their trade—desired in 1573 that “the statute touching them (XXXIII.) should be put in execution and observed” (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1547-1550, vol. xciii., p. 472).

To the non-observance, indeed, of these regulations has been attributed the origin of trade unions, which appear to have succeeded the craft guilds, very much in the same manner as the latter were formed by the free handicraftsmen, as barriers against the aggressions of the more opulent guild members.¹

It is highly probable that, for the earliest appearance of this new organisation, we must consult the records of the building trades (III., XVI.); but the subject, though deeply interesting, lies beyond the scope of our present inquiry.

Returning to the stat. 5 Eliz., c. iv., one clause, the 30th, demands our further attention. It enumerates many varieties, or branches, of a single trade, *e.g.*, smith, wheelwright, plough-wright, mill-wright; brickmaker, bricklayer; tiler, slater, healer, tilemaker, and shingler; yet, although in previous statutes the term *Freemason* occurs, we here find a solitary definition, *rough mason*, representing the class either of stone workers or cutters, to whom apprentices could be bound. The omission from the statute, of the appellation by which the superior of the two divisions of masons was commonly described, is curious and perhaps significant. It may point to the *several* uses of the word *Freemason*, becoming gradually absorbed within that one having special reference to freedom of the trade. On the other hand, the explanation may simply be, that cutters of *free-stone* were, comparatively, so limited in number as to render any notice of their craft or industry, in the statute, inexpedient or unnecessary. Yet, if the latter solution be accepted, why the wearisome changes which are rung upon the varieties of the tiler's trade, in the same clause of the Act? Mr Brewer, quoting the stat. 6 Hen. VIII., c. iii. (XXVI.), speaks of "superior workmen, or *freemasons*."² The word in the same sense is used by a high authority, who says:—"Every kind of artisan's work, if on an extensive scale, was superintended by a master in the craft—he is the master carpenter or the *freemason*."³

Had the generic term "masons" been used by the framers of the statute, the inference would be plain—that it referred to both the superior and the inferior classifications of the trade; but the employment of the expression *rough mason*, in a code, moreover, so carefully drawn up, almost forbids the supposition that it was intended to comprise a higher class of workmen, and rather indicates that the term *Freemason*—as already suggested,—though, perhaps, in common or successive use, applied to denote a stonecutter, a contractor, a superior workman, a passed apprentice or free journeyman, and a person enjoying the freedom of a guild or company, had then lost—if, indeed, it ever possessed—any *purely* operative significance, and if for no other reason was omitted from the statute, as importing a sense in which it would have been generally misunderstood.

According to Brentano, "Wherever the craft gilds were legally acknowledged, we find foremost, that the right to exercise their craft and sell their manufactures depended upon the *freedom of the city*."⁴

A pamphlet of the year 1649, referring to the constitution of the Clothworkers' Company,

¹ Brentano, On the History and Development of Gilds, p. 131. "The possession of large capital, which became more and more a requisite for the independent exercise of a trade, would impair more and more the prospects of workmen becoming masters, and would call forth an ever-increasing antagonism between the interests of workmen and masters" (*Ibid.*, p. 89).

² Letters and Papers, etc., *temp. Henry VIII.*, vol. i., 1862, preface, p. cxii.

³ J. E. T. Rogers, A History of Agriculture and Prices in England from 1259 to 1793 (1866), vol. i., p. 502.

⁴ Brentano, On the History and Development of Gilds, p. 65.

as amended in the twenty-third year of Henry VII., and then existing, presents an interesting picture of the classes or gradations into which this association was divided.

"The first degree was Apprentices of the Craft. These were not to take wages, or work Journey-work, by their Ordinances.

"The second degree was Freemen; they presented, admitted to work by Journeys, or Journey-work. These sometimes called the Yeomanry; sometimes, the Company of Batchelors. They entred Bond not to worke with any Forraigner, but with Freemen of the Craft, and this was according to their Ordinances too.

"The third degree was Householders they admitted.

"The fourth degree was a Livery or Cloathing, such as wore Gown and Hood. This was called the fellowship.

"The fifth degree was Warden.

"All were under the government, rule, and punishment of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen for the time being. Such as rebelled were bound in recognizance to the Mayor's Court."¹

In bringing to a close my review of the early statutes, whilst conscious that I have unfolded very little that may tend to strengthen the opinion entertained of the high antiquity of Freemasonry, I may claim, at least, to have dissipated some few errors, and thereby to have assisted, however slightly and imperfectly, in placing the history of the Masonic craft on a rational basis.

By considering the statutes as a whole, I have thought it less difficult to extract their true meaning and significance, than by a mere cursory inspection of isolated enactments, scattered throughout the statute book, which—often wholly unintelligible—are *always* misleading, without the aid of a context.

Having brought down the evidences of Masonry in South Britain to the sixteenth century, the next subject in chronological order, will be its early history in North Britain, which I shall proceed to discuss in the ensuing chapter.

¹ The Government of the Fullers, Shearmen, and Clothworkers of London, p. 6.



SIR WALTER W. BALFOUR, Bt., FRS.

OBITUARY.—DECEASED APRIL 10, 1898.

CHAPTER VIII.

EARLY BRITISH FREEMASONRY.

SCOTLAND.

HE ordinary practice of masonic historians, from Anderson to Oliver, having been to draw largely upon their imaginations, whilst professedly furnishing *proofs* of the antiquity of Freemasonry, has led many critical readers to suppose, that at best the existing society is simply a modern adaptation of defunct masonic organisations, and that the craft, now so widely dispersed over the four quarters of the globe, dates only from the second decade of the last century.

The trite observation that "truth is stranger than fiction," finds an apt illustration in the early histories of the fraternity, for however improbable, it is none the less a fact, that the minutes of Scottish lodges from the sixteenth century, and evidences of British masonic life dating farther back by some two hundred years, were actually left unheeded by our premier historiographer, although many of such authentic and invaluable documents lay ready to hand, only awaiting examination, amongst the muniments in the old Lodge chests.

Instead of a careful digest of these veritable records—records, it may be stated, of unquestionable antiquity—those anxious to learn anything of so curious a subject, had to wade through a compendium of sacred and profane history (of more than doubtful accuracy), entitled "The History and Constitutions of the most Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, collected from their old Records and faithful Traditions," and then found very little to reward their search.

It will be seen that, by the collection and comparatively recent publication of many of the interesting records above alluded to, so much evidence has been accumulated respecting the early history, progress, and character of the craft, as to be almost embarrassing, and the proposition may be safely advanced, that the Grand Lodges of Great Britain are the direct descendants, by continuity and absorption, of the ancient Freemasonry which immediately preceded their institution, which will be demonstrated without requiring the exercise of either dogmatism or credulity.

The oldest lodges in Scotland possess registers of members and meetings, as well as particulars of their laws and customs, ranging backward nearly three hundred years. Many of these bodies were the founders of the Grand Lodge in 1736—after the model of the Grand Lodge of England, 1717—some, however, not participating in the first instance were sub-

sequently admitted, whilst others preferred isolation to union—one of the last named has existed as an independent lodge to this day. It is therefore evident that a sketch of the salient features of these ancient documents, will form an important link in the chain which connects what is popularly known as the Lodges of Modern Freemasonry, with their operative and speculative ancestors.

Though not the first references to Masonry, or Freemasonry, in order of date, the "St Clair Charters" deserve examination at the outset of our inquiry, because of the signatures attached to them. The original charters are in the custody of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, presented by the late Professor W. E. Aytoun, who obtained them from Dr David Laing, of the Signet Library (the purchaser of the late Mr Alexander Deuchar's valuable MSS.). Lyon states there can be no doubt of their genuineness, having compared several of the signatures in the originals with autographs in other MSS. of the period.¹

The "Advocates Library" at Edinburgh contains a small volume well known as the "Hay MSS.," in which are copies of these two charters, but Lyon, after a careful scrutiny, pronounces the transcripts to be faulty in character, which is probably due to the lack of exactitude in the transcriber. According to the "Genealogie of the Saint Clares of Rosslyn" by Father Richard Augustin Hay, Prior of Pieremont,² the junior of the Hay MSS. was subscribed at "Ed[inburgh] 1630," which entry does not occur in the original, and, according to a communication from the editor³ to Mr D. Murray Lyon, the date must have been an interpolation, the same year being assigned to the charter by Lawrie in his "History of Freemasonry," 1804. They are written on scrolls of paper in a superior style, the one being 15 by 11½ inches, and the other 26 inches in length, the width being the same as its companion. A few words are obliterated, but are easily supplied, the only serious injury sustained, affecting the senior document, which is minus the south-east corner. It has been suggested that the absent portion contained other signatures, which is quite possible. The dates have been approximately settled by Mr Lyon, to whom I am chiefly indebted for the interesting particulars respecting their character, and whose text I have selected for reproduction, in preference to any of the several transcripts which were previously issued.

The first charter could not have been written immediately after the *Union* of the crowns of England and Scotland (March 24, 1603), having been signed by William Schaw, master of work, who died in 1602; and its probable date is 1601-2, the names of the deacons of the masons at Edinburgh affording some assistance in identifying this period. The second, long assigned to 1630, and so dated in many of the transcripts, was evidently promulgated in 1628, according to the internal evidence which has been so well marshalled by Mr Lyon.⁴

The text of these singular documents has been so frequently misrepresented and perverted, that I have thought it best to present exact transcripts of the originals.⁵ There are no insuperable difficulties besetting the comprehension of their quaint and obsolete phraseology, though modern renderings of similar records will be usually given, in the hope of averting the transient and perfunctory examination which ordinarily awaits all excerpts of this class. In

¹ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 58.

² Edited by James Maidment, Edinburgh, 1835.

³ Freemason, May 24, 1873. In the addenda to Lyon's History (p. 428) appears the following note: "We have received a communication from James Maidment, Esq., advocate, editor of the 'Genealogies,' in which he states his impression that he copied the date from 'Lawrie's History.' This seems to fix on Lawrie [Brewster?] the onus of interpolating a date into the second charter."

⁴ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, chap. viii., pp. 57-66.

⁵ See Appendices.

all cases, however, let me say once for all, that either the originals or certified copies have been consulted for such purposes, and an intimation will always be given of the sources of authority upon which I have relied. No useful end would be attained by a literal reproduction of all the curious minutes to which I shall have occasion to refer, but every care will be taken to accurately present their true meaning and intent; and upon any measure of confidence which my readers may accord me, in respect of the earlier portion of this history, I must further rely for a continuance of their belief in my good faith, whilst acting as their guide, during our united pilgrimage to the shrines of the ancient Scottish craft.

It will readily be noticed that the two deeds are altogether silent as to the Grand Mastership of the Craft being hereditary in the St Clairs of Roslin, yet that distinction has been claimed for this family. The author of what is commonly known as Lawrie's "History of Freemasonry"¹—the late Sir David Brewster—observes: "It deserves to be remarked that in both these deeds the appointment of William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, to the office of Grand Master by James II. of Scotland, is spoken of as a fact well known and universally admitted."² We look in vain for any corroboration of this assertion, for it is simply untrue. Certainly the consent of the "Friemen Maissones" within the realm of Scotland is acknowledged, also that of the master of work, in favour of *William St Clair* purchasing the position of patron and judge from "our sovereign lord," for himself and heirs; and, as far as they could do so, the successors to these masons are pledged in like manner to support such an appointment. Yet the office of "master of work" was not superseded thereby, and whilst the first deed records a statement, that the "Lairds of Rosling" had previously exercised such a privilege for very many years, the masonic body must have valued their patronage very slightly, to have required another deed to be executed in less than thirty years. The second being obtained from the "*hammermen*"—blacksmiths and others—as well as the masons, and though it is not mentioned in the text, the "*squaremen*"³ were likewise a party to the agreement, these including the crafts of *coopers*, *wrights* (or carpenters), and *slaters*, who were represented on the charter by their deacons from Ayr!

The important declaration in the junior document, as to the destructive fire in Roslin Castle, by which some extraordinary writings of value to the craft perished, and were thus lost to the Freemasons, would surely have been announced in the deed executed at an earlier date by the masonic body, had the conflagration been of the character represented. The misfortune is, that to refer the absence of confirmatory evidence to fire or other "visitation of Providence," is an old method of seeking to turn the edge of criticism, and has been followed by brethren in later times, when they have been pressed to account for the fact that the entire weight of *evidence* is opposed to the establishment of their own pet theories. Maidment has demonstrated the utter groundlessness of the claims put forward by the Lawries, that there ever was such an appointment made either by royal authority, or the vote of the masonic craft, to secure the office of hereditary "Grand Master" to the St Clairs. These questions will be still further elucidated, when the formation of what I deem to be the premier Grand Lodge, and the

¹ 1st edit., 1804; 2d edit., 1859. Alexander Lawrie, wishing to publish a work on Freemasonry, asked Dr Irving to undertake its compilation, on whose refusal he applied to Sir David (then Mr) Brewster, by whom it was readily undertaken (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 55; Notes and Queries, May 9, 1863).

² Lawrie's History of Freemasonry, 1804, p. 103.

³ According to Mr M'Dowall, this term comprehended masons, joiners, cabinet-makers, painters, and glaziers (History of Dumfries, 1867, p. 741).

election of the first Grand Master, took place, about a century later, in London. Meanwhile it may be noted that there are no deeds known, which confer such a position as that claimed, on the Earl of Orkney in the fifteenth century (the representative of the elder branch of the St Clairs), neither is there any record of that nobleman or his successors having conveyed such hereditary privileges to the younger branch of the family. The "St Clair Charters" themselves give an emphatic denial to the absurd statement, and, as Sir David Brewster in 1804, and the younger Lawrie in 1859,¹ cite the two deeds as confirming their assertions, which deeds, on an examination are found to *contain no such clauses*, the only wonder is, that such an improbable story as that of the hereditary Grand Mastership ever obtained such general credence.

The lodges who were parties to Charter No. 1 met at Edinburgh, St Andrews, Haddington, Atcheson-Haven, and Dunfermline respectively. The second deed bears the names of the representative lodges² at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Stirling, Dunfermline, St Andrews, and also of the masons and other crafts at Ayr.

These several bodies united for the purpose of obtaining a patron for their craft, and inasmuch as other districts in Scotland are not included, which we have every reason to believe contained lodges at that period, such as Kilwinning and Aberdeen, it seems likely that the office of patron was more sought with the object of settling whatever local disputes might occur amongst the Freemasons in the exercise of their trade, than intended in any way to set aside the king's master of work, who, as we have seen, supported the petition of the lodges. If this were so, then it might fairly be expected that similar powers were obtained in other counties, and that is just what we find did occur on September 25, 1590, on which day James VI. granted to Patrick Coipland of Udaucht the office of "Wardene and Justice" over the "airt and craft of masonrie" within the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Kincardine, with the fullest liberty to act in such a capacity within the district named. The appointment was made in response to the vote in his favour, "by the maist pairt of the master masounes within the shiriffdomes," and likewise because the nominee's "predecessoris hes bene ancient possessouris of the said office of Wardanrie over all the boundis." Lawrie accepts this appointment as "proving beyond dispute that the Kings nominated the office-bearers of the order," but Lyon considers it "a strictly civil one, like that of the Barons to the wardenrie of the Crafts in 1427."³ I entirely agree with the latter view; but supposing we take Lawrie at his word, what becomes of his "hereditary Grand Mastership" theory, and how comes it to pass that different districts are thus allotted to wardens to act as judges of the masonic craft, if the Earl of Orkney and his heirs were empowered to act as Grand Masters of the fraternity, from the reign, and by the authority of, James II.? Surely the master masons within the three counties named in the deed of 1590, who provisionally elected a warden to rule over them, would not have obtained the countenance and confirmation of James VI. had there been an office then existent of Grand Master of the Freemasons, whether hereditary or otherwise. As Hughan points out in his "Early History of British Freemasonry"⁴ (from which I quote the terms of Coipland's appointment), the laws promulgated by William Schaw, Master of Work to King James VI., of December 28, 1598, were in force in Aberdeen, Banff, and Kincardine, just as in all

¹ W. A. Laurie, son of the publisher of the original work (1804), and author of the enlarged edition of 1859. The altered spelling, adopted by the son, has conveyed an impression that the two *editions* are distinct works.

² These will be duly noticed, except the Stirling Lodge, about which I can glean no authentic details.

³ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 5.

⁴ Voice of Masonry, Chicago, U.S.A., 1872-73.

other parts of Scotland, and this alone is sufficient to give a death-blow to the illusions of the Lawrie school, in which, alas, there are believers even at this day.

As a matter of fact, we do not even know that this warden¹ and judge of 1590 was a mason. No actual minutes or documents record the admission of speculative members at so early a period, therefore we can do no more than concede that he *may* have been "accepted" as a brother, and made "free" of the ancient craft, out of compliment to his responsible position, and in accordance with the motives which actuated the fraternity in older times, to secure the co-operation and favour of those who exercised rule and authority over them.

These documents of the sixteenth and the following century, having retrospective as well as prospective clauses—the former of which have been unduly magnified and distorted beyond all fair bounds of interpretation—must be my excuse for placing them first in order, in a review of the MSS. of the craft. Of still more importance, however, and of especial value are the noted Statutes of 1598—compiled in order that they might be sent to all the lodges in Scotland, having received the unanimous sanction of the masters convened at Edinburgh—and to which William Schaw, the master of work (*by royal appointment*) and general warden, had duly subscribed his name, and enjoined their due observance by the Scottish craft. Of scarcely less importance are the laws of the following year, signed by the same official, having particular reference to the old lodges at Edinburgh and Kilwinning, the clauses of which are most extraordinary in character, considering the period of their promulgation, and afford an insight into the usages and customs of the craft, superior to any other documents which have come down to us from remote times.

The older masonic code bears date the 28th day of December 1598, is written in a legible manner in the first volume of the records of the "Lodge of Edinburgh," and is duly attested by the autograph of *Schaw* as master of work. It consists of twenty-two "items," not numbered, and concludes with the attestation clause, which recites the obligation taken by the master masons who were convened, to keep them faithfully. The general warden was requested to sign the statutes in order that an authentic copy might be made and sent to *all the lodges in Scotland*—the names and number of which unfortunately the record does not disclose; but evidently their scope was of a general character, and by no means restricted to the "Lodge of Edinburgh," which from its situation naturally served as the medium of their circulation throughout the realm.

THE SCHAW STATUTES, NO. 1, OF A.D. 1598.

In considering these rules in detail, I have numbered the items in consecutive order, and shall briefly summarise their leading characteristics.²

1. All the good ordinances concerning the privileges of the craft, which were made by their predecessors of "gude memorie," to be observed and kept; and especially to be true to one another, and live charitably together as becometh *sworn* brethren and companions of the Craft.

2. To be obedient to their wardens, deacons, and masters in all things concerning the Craft.

¹ The office of warden over a large district in Scotland, herein noted of 1590, must not be confused with that of wardens of a lodge as provided for in the Schaw Statutes of 1598-99.

² For the exact text of these regulations, see Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 9-11; also Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 1848.

3. To be honest, faithful, and diligent in their calling, and upright with the masters or owners of the work which they undertake, whatever be the mode of payment.
4. That no one undertake work, be it great or small, unless able to complete it satisfactorily, under the penalty of forty pounds [Scots], or the fourth part of the value of the work, according to the decision of the general warden, or the officers named in the 2d item, for the sheriffdom where the work is being wrought.
5. That no master shall supplant another under the penalty of forty pounds.
6. That no master take an uncompleted work unless the previous masters be duly satisfied, under the same penalty.
7. That one warden be elected annually by every lodge, "as they are devidit particularlie," to have charge thereof, and that, by the votes of the masters of the said lodges, with the consent of the general warden if present. Should the latter be absent, then the results of such elections must be communicated to him, that he may send his directions to the wardens-elect.
8. That no master shall have more than three apprentices during his lifetime, unless with the special consent of the officers previously mentioned, of the sheriffdom in which the additional apprentice shall dwell.
9. Apprentices must not be bound for less than seven years, and no apprentice shall be made "brother and fellow-in-craft," unless he has served an additional seven years, save by the special license of the regular officers assembled for that purpose, and then only, if sufficient trial has been made of his worthiness, qualification, and skill. The penalty was forty pounds, as usual, "besyde the penaltieis to be set douu aganis his persone, accordyng to the ord^e of the ludge quhair he remains."
10. Masters must not sell their apprentices to other masters, nor dispense with their time by sale to such apprentices, under the penalty of forty pounds.
11. No master to receive an apprentice without informing the warden of his lodge [ludge], that his name and date of reception be duly booked.
12. No apprentice to be entered but by the same order.
13. No master or fellow-of-craft to be received or admitted except in the presence of six masters and two entered apprentices,¹ the warden of that lodge being one of the six, the date thereof being orderly booked, and "*his name and mark insert*" in the said book, together with the names of the six masters, the apprentices, and intender. Provided always that no one be admitted without "*ane assay* and sufficient tryall of his skill and worthynes in his vocatioun and craft."
14. No master to engage in any masonic work under charge or command of any other craftsman.
15. No master or "fellow-of-craft" to receive "*any cowanis*" to work in his society or company, or to send any of his servants to work with them, under a penalty of twenty pounds for each offence.
16. No apprentice shall undertake work beyond the value of ten pounds from the owner thereof, under the penalty aforesaid, and, on its completion, a license must be obtained from the masters or warden in their own neighbourhood, if more is desired to be done.
17. Should strife arise amongst the masters, servants, or apprentices,² they must inform the wardens, deacons, or their lodges, within twenty-four hours thereof, under ten pounds penalty in case of default, in order that the difficulties may be amicably settled. Should any

¹ "Sex maisteris and twa enterit prenteissis."

² "Enterit prenteissis."

of the parties concerned therein, refuse to accept the award made, they shall be liable to be deprived of the privileges of their lodge, and not be permitted to work during the period of their obstinacy.

18. Masters and others¹ must be careful in taking all needful precautions as to the erection of suitable scaffolding, and should accidents occur through their negligence, they shall not act as masters having charge of any work, *but for ever afterwards be subject to others.*

19. Masters are not to receive apprentices who "salhappin to ryn away" from their lawful service, under penalty of forty pounds.

20. All members of the mason craft must attend the meetings when lawfully warned, under "the pane of ten punds."

21. All masters present at any "assemblie or meetting" shall be sworn by *their great oath*, not to hide or conceal any wrong done to each other, or to the owners of the work, as far as they know, under the same penalty.

22. All the said penalties shall be collected from those who break any of the foregoing statutes, by the wardens, deacons, and masters, to be distributed "*ad pios vsus* according to gud conscience," and by their advice.

The Statutes, subscribed by William Schaw, "Maistir of Wark, Warden of the Maisonis," were agreed to on December 28, 1599, having apparently been duly compared with the code of the previous year, and obviously were arranged especially for the old Lodge at Kilwinning, Ayrshire. As there are several points mentioned in these ordinances which are not of a general character, but refer specially to the lodge named, and as it is desirable to examine the records of all the more ancient Scottish lodges, I shall at once enter upon the task, taking the history of each separately as far as possible. It becomes necessary, however, to determine in what order we shall proceed with the investigation, the more particularly as the delicate question of precedence is involved, about which these old lodges are not a little sensitive.

It is the custom of some writers, to claim that the years when the various abbeys were erected, provide the surest means of determining when the lodges originated, on the assumption that each of these structures required and had a lodge of Freemasons as their builders. Lyon observes, that while their southern neighbours hold the masonic fraternity to have been organised at York in the time of Athelstan A.D. 926, Scottish Freemasons are content to trace their descent from the builders of the abbeys of Holyrood, Kelso, Melrose, and Kilwinning, the Cathedral of Glasgow, and other ecclesiastical fabrics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Not the slightest vestige of authentic evidence, however, has yet been adduced in support of the legends in regard to the time and place of the institution of the first Scottish masonic lodge. And if it has to be acknowledged that the tradition regarding the introduction of Freemasonry into Scotland is somewhat apocryphal, the same is, I apprehend, true of much that has been written of the Brotherhood as it existed at any time prior to the close of the sixteenth century.

If Holyrood is mentioned as the earliest of the Scottish abbeys, Kelso is at once brought forward as of the same period, and when Kilwinning is proudly referred to as exceeding in antiquity any ecclesiastical edifice of the sister kingdom, the claims of Melrose to priority of institution are immediately asserted. It is scarcely possible that any agreement can be arrived at under such circumstances, and I shall advance no opinion of my own in regard to the

¹ "Interpriseris."

primogeniture of these old lodges, because several have to lament the loss of their most ancient manuscripts, whilst others are at the present time almost, if not quite, destitute of any records whatever. Bearing in mind these difficulties, which of themselves are suggestive of the great age of many of the lodges, I have thought it safest to follow the decision of the Grand Lodge of Scotland as to their relative *precedency*, leaving their antiquity an open question, and these old *atcliers* will therefore be marshalled according to their positions on the roll, after which I shall notice those that have ceased to exist, concluding with some remarks upon the Lodge of Melrose which still keeps aloof from the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

“MOTHER KILWINNING” LODGE, AYRSHIRE, NO. 0.

The historian of Scottish Masonry in general, and of the Kilwinning and Edinburgh Lodges in particular (Lyon), acknowledges that the pretensions of the former to priority of existence, based as they are upon the story which makes its institution and the erection of Kilwinning Abbey (1140) coeval, are weakened by the fact that the abbey in question was neither the first nor the second Gothic structure erected in Scotland. That the lodge was presided over about the year 1286 by James, Lord Steward of Scotland, a few years later by the hero of Bannockburn, and afterwards by the third son of Robert II. (Earl of Buchan), are some of the improbable stories which were propagated during the last century, in order to secure for the lodge the coveted position of being the first on the Grand Lodge Roll, or to give countenance to its separate existence as a rival grand lodge. Whatever pre-eminence the supporters of “Mother Kilwinning” may have arrogated to that ancient lodge during the early part of the last century, and however difficult it might then have been to reconcile conflicting claims, we are left in no doubt as to the precedence given to the “Lodge of Edinburgh” in the Statutes of 1599, Kilwinning having distinctly to take the *second* place.

It is most singular, under the circumstances to be presently mentioned, that neither the records of the Edinburgh or Kilwinning Lodges allude in the slightest degree to these regulations,¹ and the craft does not appear to have had any idea of the existence of such a document until recent years. That it was unknown in 1736, and during the struggles for priority and supremacy waged by the Grand Lodge and “Mother Kilwinning,” is quite certain, because its production as evidence would have at once settled the points in dispute. In 1861 the late Earl of Eglinton and Winton, through the then Deputy Grand Master (Mr John Whyte-Melville, since Grand Master), presented the Grand Lodge with a copy of “Memorials of the Montgomeries, Earls of Eglinton.” The muniment room in Eglinton Castle was diligently searched and placed under requisition for the purposes of that work, and thus, through the devotion of the lamented Lord Eglinton to archaeological studies and research, the Scottish craft owes the discovery of this valuable code of masonic laws and decisions. There cannot be a doubt as to the authenticity of the MS., and Lyon’s suggestion that its preservation in the repositories of the noble house of Montgomerie was in all probability owing to that family’s former connection with the masonic court of Kilwinning, is one fully warranted by facts.

I shall give, as far as possible, an accurate rendering of each of the thirteen items, numbering them consecutively as in the case of the former regulations (Schaw Statutes, No. 1), placing any observations I may have to offer in footnotes, so as not to break the continuity of the actual code.

¹ That is to say, to the regulations or code of 1599 (*not* 1598).

THE SCHAW STATUTES, NO. 2, OF A.D. 1599.¹

1. The warden to act within the bounds of Kilwinning, and other places subject to that lodge, shall be annually elected on the 20th day of December, "and that within the kirk at Kilwynning," as the "heid and secund ludge of Scotland," the general warden to be informed accordingly.²

2. The "Lord Warden Generall," considering that it was expedient that all the Scottish lodges should prospectively enjoy their ancient liberties as of yore, confirms the right of the Lodge of Kilwinning, "secund lodge of Scotland," to have *its* warden present at the election of wardens within the bounds of the "nether waird of Cliddisdaill, Glasgow, Air, and boundis of Carrick," and also to convene these wardens to assemble anywhere within the district (embracing the west of Scotland, including *Glasgow*), when and where they had to submit to the judgments of the warden and deacon of Kilwinning.³

3. The warden general, for reasons of expediency, confirms the rank of Edinburgh as "the first and principal lodge in Scotland," that of Kilwinning being the *second*, "as of befoir is notourlie manifest in our awld antient wriftis;" and the Lodge of Stirling to be *third*, according to their ancient privileges.⁴

4. The wardens of every lodge shall be answerable to the *Presbyters* within their sheriffdoms, for the masons subject to their lodges, the third part of the fines paid by the disobedient being devoted to the "godlie usis of the ludge," where the offences were committed.⁵

5. An annual trial of all offences shall be made, under the management of the warden and most ancient masters of the lodge, extending to six persons, so that due order be observed.

6. The lord warden-general ordains that the warden of Kilwinning, "as secund in Scotland,"

¹ For the full text of this document, see Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 12.

² The position of the Lodge in 1599 corresponds with that of a *District* Grand Lodge at the present time, its jurisdiction being defined in the next item. The status accorded to it is both strange and paradoxical, for how can that which is "*head*" be also *second*, masonically or otherwise? Before arriving at a decision, the third of the rules must be carefully examined.

³ This clause disposes of the pretensions of the "Malcolm Canmore Charter" of St John's Lodge, Glasgow, which was foisted upon the fraternity in comparatively recent times; for that city in 1599 was masonically subject to Kilwinning (see post, "Apocryphal MSS.").

⁴ This item (3.) establishes the clear meaning and intention of Schaw, for he expressly declares that the Lodge of Edinburgh is the *first and principal* in the country, awarding to Kilwinning and Stirling the *second* and *third* positions respectively. Accordingly either of the three might be termed "*Head Lodge*," there thus being a trio of head lodges, only of these precedence was given to Edinburgh over Kilwinning, and to both these lodges over Stirling, and at the head of them all, was the Warden-General by royal appointment. The usage of existing Provincial Grand Lodges affords an illustration of the working of this rule—these are the heads or chiefs in their jurisdictions, as empowered by their common head, precedence being given according to their respective ages—and over all presides the Grand Master, in some measure corresponding with the General Warden. This being so, whatever place on the roll is occupied by the old lodges in question at the present time, Edinburgh was *above its peers* in 1599. Lyon cites an example of the use of the term *head*, as applied to *several*, in the case of some persons guilty of manslaughter being required by an Act of the Lords of Council, 1490, to repair to the market-cross of Edinburgh, with their swords in their hands, to seek forgiveness from the friends of the slain man, and then repair to the "four head pilgrimages of Scotland, and there say mass for his soul" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 243).

⁵ In common with other trades, the masons were required to support the Church; not only during the period prior to the Reformation, but long after the influence of Roman Catholicism may be supposed to have ceased in Scotland, and the examples are too numerous to quote, of a compulsory application of the fines levied upon masons towards the maintenance of ecclesiastical fabrics.

shall select six of the most perfect and worthy masons, in order to test the qualification of all the fellows within their district, "of thair art, craft, scyance, and *antient memorie*," to the intent that the said wardens shall be duly responsible for such persons as are under them.

7. The warden and deacon of Kilwinning, as the second lodge, is empowered to *exclude* and *expel* from the society all who persist in disobeying the ancient statutes, and "all personis disobedient ather to *kirk*, craft, counsall," and other regulations to be hereafter made.¹

8. The warden-general requires the warden and deacon (with his quartermasters) to select a skilled notary, to be ordinary clerk or scribe,² by whom all deeds were to be executed.

9. The acts heretofore made by Kilwinning masons must be kept most faithfully in the future, and no apprentice or craftsman be either admitted or entered but "within the kirk of Kilwynning, as his paroche and secund ludge;" all banquets arising out of such entries to be held "within the said ludge of Kilwynning."³

10. All fellow-craftsmen at their entry and prior to their admission must pay to the lodge the sum of £10, with 10s. worth of gloves, which shall include the expense of the banquet; also that none be admitted without "ane sufficient essay" and "pruife of memorie and art of craft," under the supervision of the warden, deacon, and quartermasters of the lodge, as they shall be answerable to the warden.⁴

11. Apprentices are not to be admitted unless they pay £6 towards the common banquet, or defray the expenses of a meal for all the members and apprentices of the lodge.⁵

12. The wardens and deacons of the second lodge of Scotland (Kilwinning) shall annually take the oath, "fidelite and trewthe," of all the masters and fellows of craft committed to their charge; that they shall not keep company nor work with *cowans*, nor any of their servants or apprentices, under the penalties provided in the former acts.⁶

13. The "generall warden" ordains that the Lodge of Kilwinning, being the second lodge

¹ This remarkable rule is the direct corollary of the fourth item, for unless the officers had the authority to expel unruly members, their accountability to the presbyters would have been a meaningless phrase. That the cosmopolitan and unsectarian features of our later Freemasonry are in direct opposition to the earliest teachings of the craft may, however, be new to some readers.

² "Ane famous notar as ordinar clark and scrib."

³ According to old municipal records, it was the custom for public bodies to hold their meetings in the kirks of their own neighbourhoods, probably in what we now term the "vestry" part, and hence there was nothing unusual in the provision made for the assembling of the masons therein. It may, however, only refer to the immediate neighbourhood of the kirk, just as in Cornwall certain parts contiguous to such edifices are still called "*Church Town*," the name of the town or village being prefixed. That this is, at least, a probable explanation may be inferred from the regulation respecting the banquets being served in the "*said ludge*." In 1665 the use of the "*court-house*" was granted to the members for their assemblies.

⁴ As the "Essay," or "masterpiece," will be again alluded to, I shall merely invite attention to the fees exigible on the passing of fellow-crafts.

⁵ "Utherwytes to pay to the bankat for the haill members of craft within the said ludge and prenteissis thairof."

⁶ It will be observed that by these statutes fellowship with *cowans* is rendered a misdemeanour. The Lodge of Kilwinning, in 1705, defines a "*cowan*" as a "mason without the word" (Freemasons' Magazine, vol. ix., 1863, p. 156); and the same body, in 1645, "ordanit that Hew Mure sal not work with any cowane in tymes cuming, under the pane of x lb. monie" (*Ibid.*, Aug. 4, 1866, p. 90). The word has been variously derived—from the Greek, *κύων*, a dog; the French, *chouan*; and many other sources. Lyon says "May the epithet, as one of contempt toward craftsmen 'with-

in Scotland, shall annually test every craftsman and apprentice, according to their vocations, and should they have forgotten even one point of the "art of memorie and science" thereof, they must forfeit 20s. if fellow-crafts, and 11s. if apprentices, for their neglect. Fines to be paid into the box for the common weal, in conformity with the practice of the lodges of the realm.

The regulations are followed by an intimation from the "generall warden of Scotland" that he had subscribed to them "with his hand," in token that they were to be observed, as also the acts and statutes made previously by the officers of the lodge aforesaid; so as to preserve due regularity, conformably to equity, justice, and ancient order. The same dignitary also empowered the officers to make acts according to the "office and law." The latter privilege corresponds with that enjoyed by modern lodges, which are permitted to have by-laws, binding upon their particular members, so long as they are not in conflict with the general regulations of the Grand Lodge.

The MS. concludes with an important certificate from William Schaw, which proves that the document of 1599 was intended exclusively for the masons under the jurisdiction of the Kilwinning Lodge, for it is addressed to the warden, deacon, and masters of that lodge, and testifies to the honest and careful manner in which Archibald Barclay, the commissioner from the lodge, had discharged the duties entrusted to him. It seems that this delegate produced his commission before the warden-general and the masters of the "Lodge of Edinburgh;" but by reason of the king being "out of the Toun," and no masters but those of the lodge named being convened at the time, the deputation was not successful in obtaining all that the members desired. The chief requests of the lodge (if, in the records of the warden-general, their recital may be taken as indicative of their prominence) were to obtain additional powers to preserve order, which the craft required for the conservation of their rights, and especially to secure from the king (James VI.) a recognition of the privileges of the lodge, including the power of imposing penalties upon "the dissobedient personis and perturberis of all guid ordeour." These Schaw promised to procure when occasion offered, and so far thought good to signify unto *the whole brethren of the lodge*. The statutes were duly attested at Holyrood Palace, and occupied the parties two days in their preparation, comparison, and (shall we say) fraternal consideration.

These regulations and decisions are in many respects most singular; for although, in some points, they are a reproduction of the Statutes of 1598 ("Schaw," No. 1), yet, as applicable to a particular lodge, and containing an authoritative judgment respecting the relative precedence of the *three head lodges* in Scotland, they are absolutely unique. It is important, also, to notice that several of the laws in the "Constitutions" of modern Grand Lodges are but a reflection of these ancient rules, and that many of the usages and customs of the craft in the sixteenth century are actually practised at the present day in our masonic lodges.

The premier historiographer of "Mother Kilwinning"—and of the "Lodge of Edinburgh"—is Mr D. Murray Lyon, and it is to be regretted that his interesting sketch of the former, out the word, 'not have been derived from the Celtic word *cū*?' A Gael would so express himself by the term, *a choin*, "you dog" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 24). Mackey considers that the term has come to the English fraternity from the operative masons of Scotland, and accepts the first definition given in Jamieson's "Scottish Dictionary" (Encyclopædia of Freemasonry); but Woodford believes it has crept into use in England from the old word *coven* [formerly *couen* or *coven*, as observed by Mr W. H. Rylands], so frequently employed by the guilds (Kenning's Cyclopædia).

which appeared in the *Freemasons' Magazine* (1863-65), has not been published in a separate form. Since then, another history of the lodge has been written by Mr Robert Wylie, of which I shall have to speak hereafter; but, for present purposes, the elder production will be placed under requisition.

After alluding to the *theories* which connect the Kilwinning Lodge with the (modern) degrees of masonic Knights Templars, and of the "Royal Order of Scotland," Lyon emphatically declares that the lodge "was never more nor less than a society of architects and artisans incorporated for the regulation of the business of the building trade, and the relief of indigent brethren, until the development, early in the eighteenth century, of speculative masonry."

So imperceptibly," he adds, "has the purely operative character merged into the condition of a purely speculative one, that the precise date of such change cannot with any certainty be decided upon."¹ In this opinion I concur, though for "speculative" we should read "*Grand Lodge*" masonry, the eventful changes of the early portion of the last century being thereby more accurately described, as the former expression is applicable to certain features of the craft which can be traced back to much earlier times. Lyon, however, was not, in 1863, so fully conversant with all the facts relating to masonic history as in later years, and especially when writing the admirable work with which his fame will be inseparably connected; for we find him mentioning the appointment of the Baron of Roslin to the Grand Mastership by James II., and adopting many other fanciful delusions which his *magnum opus* has since done so much to dispel. Two vexed questions, *viz.*, the masonic priority of the "Lodge of Kilwinning," and the alleged introduction, by this body, of Freemasonry into Scotland, I shall not pause to consider, and even further on shall only allude to these points incidentally, for the sufficient reason that there is an utter absence of the evidence necessary to ensure a correct decision. There is, doubtless, something in the suggestion that Kilwinning *may* have been originally the chief centre of Scottish Freemasonry, the removal of the masonic court to Edinburgh being due to causes which can be explained; but there is also much weight in the argument, that if Kilwinning ever was the headquarters of Freemasonry, as one or more of the legends declare, it is not likely that the lodge would have so quietly accepted a secondary position in 1599, and by its representative agree that its authority should be *restricted* to Western Scotland. True, in 1643 it styled itself "The Ancient Lodge of Scotland;" but that was only an indication of the vanity of its members, and a claim to which others might have had recourse with just as much reason. The "Schaw Statutes" effectually dispose of all such pretensions, and whilst admitting Kilwinning into the trio of head lodges, place it immediately *after* its metropolitan rival.

In all other respects, I can follow Lyon without any break whatever, and it is only to be regretted that each of our oldest lodges has not, in its ranks, a chronicler of equal accuracy and zeal.

The oldest minute-book preserved by the lodge is a small quarto, bound in vellum, and contains accounts of its transactions from 1642 to 1758, but not regularly or continuously. The lapses in its records are not conclusive as to the suspension of its meetings, for detached scrolls referring to some of the years in which a *hiatus* occurs are still in existence, and the members have to deplore the acquisitive propensities or careless conduct of its custodians, by which an older volume has been lost, and MSS. of value have been dispersed, which it is now

¹ *Freemasons' Magazine*, May 30, 1863.

scarcely probable will ever be restored to their rightful owners. As the record-chest of the lodge has been frequently subjected to purification by fire and other vicissitudes, it will be no cause for wonderment to hear of the paucity of its MSS. It is rather a matter for congratulation, under the circumstances, that so much remains of its ancient documents, and that its first minute saved from destruction is dated so early as December 20, 1642.¹ The precise object of the meeting appears to have been to receive the submission of members to the lodge and the laws thereof. Over forty signatures follow the minute; also the marks of the brethren, of whom a few, however, were undistinguished by these symbols, owing, in the opinion of Lyon, to their being apprentices. Though this may correctly explain the apparent anomaly, apprentices, as we shall presently see, had marks given them in the "Aberdeen Lodge." Three of the members are recognised as one deacon and two freemen of the "Ayr Squarcmen Incorporation,"² to which I have already referred, as representing other trades than the masons. One year later "the court of the Ludge" was held in the upper chamber of the dwelling-house of "Hew Smitie," John Barclay, mason-burgess of Irwine, being the deacon, the other brethren being termed masters of work. Barclay was chosen warden, and "Hew Crawford deacon." Several of the regulations of 1598 are recited and described as "ancient statutes," and officers were appointed in charge of the districts of Carrick, Kyle, Cunningham, and Renfrew, who were duly "obligated" as to their duties; and James Ross, notary, was appointed clerk, who also took "his aithe" (oath). The quarterage was agreed for the masters and apprentices, the latter having to pay double if not prompt in the settlement of their dues, and the "quartermasters" were instructed to take pains in collecting such subscriptions.

It will doubtless surprise those who are unfamiliar with old masonic records, that the lodge, on December 20, 1643, passed a law that the deacon and warden shall pay to the box, on their first election to office, the sum of £3 each, which was to be paid before the next choice, the officers named having agreed thereto. This is a very early instance of "Fees of honour" being exigible, just as are now levied in modern lodges, and other masonic organisations. Uniformity, however, was not observed as to this matter, for the "Lodge of Edinburgh" required no such payments, though others followed the example of "Kilwinning," to which I shall refer further on. Apart from masonic degrees, it is not easy to discover much that is either new or original in the practices of the lodges of to-day, for, generally speaking, the ancient minutes afford abundant evidence that our modern masonic usages are but survivals of the time-honoured customs of former days.

In 1646 (December 19), the lodge assembled in the same "upper room," other chief officers being recorded. Three masons were "received and accepted" as "fellow brethren to

¹ Freemasons' Magazine, August 8, 1863.

² Lyon speaks of the "suarcmen word," also of the "grip and sign," peculiar to that organisation, and which the members were sworn to keep secret. He also says that other crafts than the masons had their secret modes of recognition through several generations (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 23). No authority is cited by the Scottish historian, but I apprehend that in the above statement he follows Mr W. P. Buchan, who says: "A few days ago, I met an old man, a smith, his name is Peter Cree, and he told me he was made a *suarman* in 1820, at Coilsfield, near Tarbolton, and received a word, grip, and sign, and took an obligation—but not on the Bible" (Freemasons' Magazine, November 12, 1869). A year or two ago I asked of Mr Buchan (through Mr Hughan) some further particulars respecting this circumstance, but all details had passed out of his recollection. Judging by his past contributions to the Masonic press, no one, I feel sure, would deprecate more strongly any reliance being placed upon this startling *assertion* than Mr Buchan himself.

ye said tred" (*trade*), having sworn to the "standart of the said lodge *ad vitam*," and five apprentices were received. Hew Mure in Kilmarnock was mulcted in ten pounds for working with cowans. Some ten years later (January 20, 1656), another member was obliged to promise, on his oath, not to work with any cowans for the future, under pain of being fined according to the ancient rules; and those, who had been disobedient in other respects (not named), were required to be present at a meeting in Mauchline in the following month, or abide by the penalty if they failed in their attendance. Lyon terms this meeting "a sort of Provincial Grand Lodge," and so it was virtually, for their twelve delegates represented Ayr, Maybole, Kilmarnock, Irvine, Kilmarnock, Mauchline, and Renfrew. Still, the prefix "grand" may as well be omitted until applied to assemblies of the craft some fifty years later. Lyon states that the fees at this period in force at Kilwinning were, for apprentices 20s.; felloes-of-craft 40s., with 4s. additional on selecting a mark—"Scots money," be it remembered, and hence about a twelfth of English value. The fines for non-attendance were levied with military precision, the absentees being as regularly named in the minutes as those who were present.

In 1659 (December 20) the Lodge appointed certain representatives in the four districts, previously mentioned, to assemble annually in Ayr upon the Wednesday before Candlemas "to take ordrons with the transgressors of the actis of the court in the Mason Court buiks (books) of the Ludge of Kilwinning," and that due report be made to the Lodge on December 29 in each year.

Lyon inclines to the belief that these stated meetings were ordered in consequence of the disaffection of the squaremen (masons, carpenters, slaters, and glaziers) of Ayr, who, claiming the privileges granted to the crafts of Scotland by the charter of Queen Mary in 1564, declined paying dues into the Kilwinning treasury, having a box of their own.¹ This opinion is strengthened by the fact that the regular representatives of the "squaremen" of Ayr acted independently of the "Kilwinning Lodge," in joining with the lodges that signed the agreement known as the St Clair Charter No. 2 (A.D. 1628, *circa*); and the motive of the deputation from the lodge, seeking the powerful authority of the king in upholding their ancient privileges, is all the more apparent, if Lyon's view be accepted as the correct one, which I deem it to be. The monopoly in connection with the Freemasons, as with other crafts, was being gradually but surely undermined, and neither the "ancient privileges," nor the indignant remonstrances of the head lodges, were sufficient to arrest the growing aversion to the interference of these old associations with the development of the masonic craft either in Kilwinning or elsewhere, and especially did the cowans object to be banished by the lodges, when they were competent to work in their trade, even though they were not actually *Free-masons*.

The introduction of the speculative element, whilst it was doubtless intended to strengthen the authority of the old lodges, must in effect have paved the way for their ultimate surrender of many rights and privileges no longer suitable to the times.

The Earl of Cassillis was elected a deacon of the lodge in 1672, but, singular to state, his lordship was not entered as fellow-craft until a year later, when Cunningham of Corsehill was his companion, and in the following year occupied the same office. The latter was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia by Charles II. in 1672. Alexander, eighth Earl of Eglinton,² appears

¹ Freemasons' Magazine, August 8, 1863.

² This nobleman succeeded to the earldom in 1669, and was a warm partisan of the principles which led to the

in the sederunt of the annual meeting in 1674 as a "felloe-of-craft," being elected as the chief deacon in 1677. These appointments necessitated the selection of operative brethren to act as *deputies*, so that the office of "Deputy Master" (which is an arrangement of modern times, consequent upon a "Prince of the blood Royal" accepting the mastership of a lodge) may be said to have its archetype in the election of deputies for Lords Cassillis and Eglinton. It was customary for the deacons and wardens, on their election, to subscribe to the enrichment of the "Box;" so, after all, it may have been the exercise of a little business prudence and foresight which led the members of Kilwinning and other lodges to obtain the patronage of the aristocratic class. The earliest instance of such an appointment will be found duly noted in the sketch of the Aberdeen Lodge, No. 34. In 1676 three candidates were proposed for the office of deacon, the votes being signified by strokes drawn opposite each name. This primitive mode of recording the suffrages of the members prevailed for many years. The result was tabulated as follows:—*Three* for Cunningham of Corsehill, *seven* for Lord Eglinton, and *eight* for Cunningham of Robertland, the last named being declared elected by a "pluralitie of vottis." The same custom prevails to this day, as respects the ballot for the master, the brother having the greatest number of votes in his favour, of those who are eligible, being elected to the chair, even if there is not an *absolute majority* of those who voted.

Lord Eglinton was again deacon on December 20, 1678, his warden being Lord Cochrane, eldest son of the Earl of Dundonald. At the same meeting two apprentices were entered, who "paid their buiking money and got their marks." Lord Cochrane's mark is appended to this record, and was of the ordinary kind.

In the year 1674 occurs an entry of six pounds from fellow-crafts in Glasgow. Lyon considers these brethren hailed from the mother lodge, and that, at the period noted, it was not at all likely the masons of the city of Glasgow in any way recognised the right of Kilwinning to levy dues upon them.

Glasgow was, in all probability, the first to escape from the jurisdiction of Kilwinning, and "in the eternal fitness of things" there do seem to be very grave objections to an insignificant place, which claimed to be the source of Scottish Freemasonry, possessing authority over an important city like Glasgow, which even, at that time, was certainly not a likely district for the deacon of a lodge "holding its head court in an upper chamber in a small country village," to have any rule or power over, masonically or otherwise.

The members of Kilwinning, however, were not willing to lose their masonic influence, and, in 1677, exercised what they deemed to be their rights by chartering a lodge in the city of Edinburgh, which was a direct invasion of jurisdiction, and contrary to the "Schaw Statutes," No. 2. It was, to all intents and purposes, a new lodge that was thus authorised to assemble, subject to its parent at Kilwinning, and is the first instance of its kind in Great Britain, being practically the premier lodge warranted by a body taking upon itself the position, and exercising somewhat of the functions, of a Grand Lodge for Scotland, though neither so designated, nor, do I think, was such an institution thought of at the time.¹

Revolution, enjoying the confidence of King William. His social relations were, in one respect at least, very unusual; for on his second marriage he became the fourth husband of a lady then in her ninetieth year (Freemasons' Magazine, August 8, 1863). Lord Cassillis was as able at handling a sword as presiding in a masonic lodge; for he fought most valiantly at the battle of Marston Moor on the king's side, who, as we know, was beaten by the parliamentary forces.

¹ The lodge thus chartered by "Mother Kilwinning" is No. 2 on the roll, and is briefly noticed by me after the "Lodge of Edinburgh."

That the ancient statutes were not looked upon as "unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians" is evident from the frequent departures from their exact requirements, as exemplified in the records. So long as their evident intention and spirit were preserved, the members dispensed with a servile adherence to every minute item; and, provided a new law was duly passed in the regular way, at times even directly overruled some of the old enactments. Take, for example, the ninth rule of the "Schaw Statutes," No. 2. A minute of 1720 states that a plurality of members, having taken into consideration the "many jars and debates of entering freemen," agreed that "no freeman be entered or passed without conveying his money before he be admitted either in the lodge or elsewhere."¹ The old regulation distinctly prohibited such admissions taking place outside the precincts of the "Kirk of Kilwinning." Ere long it became clear to the chief promoters of the lodge that numbers brought wealth, and rejections meant loss of funds to the "box;" otherwise it is difficult to account for the laxity in the mode of receiving new members. In 1735, two individuals claimed to belong to the court, one having been entered by a member resident in Girvan (thirty-five miles from Kilwinning), and the other under similar circumstances in Maybole. Half of the fee for entry was paid at the time, and on July 12 the balance was tendered, and was accepted by the *lodge* (so Lyon informs us), the members having satisfied themselves that the couple were in possession of "*the word*." Other instances occur of such private modes of admission on behalf of the mother lodge, and apparently so long as the fees were paid the acts were condoned.

The plurality of members on December 20, 1725, enacted and ordained that two of its brethren "are discharged from entering the societe of honest men belonging to the Lodge of Kilwinning, and also discharge every freeman to give them no strocke of worke under the penaltie of £20 Scots, until they be convinced of their cryme." That this severe sentence meant something more than mere words is proved, beyond a doubt, by the masonic "criminals," two years afterwards, appearing before the lodge, and acknowledging their fault, being, on due submission restored to membership. In the interim, it is not unlikely that being placed "under the ban" was found to act prejudiciously to their employment, and hence they solicited pardon for the offence committed. They regretted the consequences of their misdeeds, if not the faults themselves.

The fees for the admission of apprentices were gradually raised from 23s. 4d. in 1685-89 to 40s. 4d. (Scots) in 1704-5, the latter, however, being unusually high, and not the ordinary sum then charged. In 1736 the English money was reckoned for payment, at which period a non-working mason was charged 10s. sterling as an apprentice, and 6s. as a fellow-craft, one-half being placed in the box, and appropriated for "Liveries," etc. The fees for working masons were a crown and half-a-crown respectively, and 1s. and 6d. for "liveries." It was also agreed that "every gentleman mason" shall pay 1s. sterling annually, and "every working mason or other mechanick," 6d. sterling. Then follows the suggestive clause that, in the event of any deficiency, each defaulter "shall be distressed for the same, on a signed complaint to a justice of the peace, or other magistrate, and his warrant obtained for that effect."²

The "Kilwinning" version of the "Old Charges"³ provides for recourse "to the common law as usuallie is," in the event of the award of the masters and fellows not being

¹ Freemasons' Magazine, vol. ix., p. 154.

² Lyon, "Mother Kilwinning, No. 4," *Ibid.*, September 26, 1863.

³ *Ante*, p. 65 (No. 16).

respected, and apparently without the "strong arm of the law" being occasionally invoked, the old lodges would have experienced considerable difficulty in gathering in their arrears, for, even with its aid, there were at times still a considerable number of defaulters.

There are so many points of resemblance between any ordinary version of the "Old Charges" and the "Schaw Statutes," that I need not here stay to compare them; neither do I think it possible for the latter to be consulted, side by side, with such a roll as the "Buchanan MS."¹ without the belief being intensified that some such document was accepted as the basis of the regulations promulgated by the Master of Work, A.D. 1600-30.

Those intolerable nuisances, masonic tramps—in general very unworthy members of the craft,— vexed the souls of the "Kilwinning" brethren in days of yore, as they do the Society in these more favoured times. In 1717, the members passed a resolution that, "as the lodge have been imposed upon by begging brethren, both here and at Irvine, it is resolved that no charity be given to travelling brethren without an order from the master."² After a lapse of more than a century and a half, no better regulation has been made to lessen this evil, for indiscriminate and profuse relief to masonic mendicants tends but to widen the area over which their depredations extend.

Indicative of the spread of modern designations, the records from 1720 contain descriptions of meetings, such as "quarterly," "grand," and so many gentlemen and tradesmen sought admission to the ranks of "Kilwinning," that operatively the lodge may be said to have ended its career.

The Grand Lodge of Scotland was formed in 1736—nearly twenty years after the institution of the premier Grand Lodge in London—but in the north the functions of such a body were exercised by two, especially of the "head lodges," Kilwinning having been the chief in that respect. Though these united with the other lodges in forming the Grand Lodge at Edinburgh, the Kilwinning members still continued to grant warrants after 1736, which was inconsistent, to say the least, with its profession of adhesion to the new *regime*. The brethren were also uneasy at accepting the second position on the roll, and soon fully resumed their independent career. Three lodges we know, and very probably several others, were constituted by "Mother Kilwinning" prior to 1736, viz., "Canongate Kilwinning" (No. 2), "Torphichen Kilwinning" (No. 13), and "Kilmarnock Kilwinning." In fact, there are numerous references in the Records and old papers, which testify that the "Kilwinningites" were very actively engaged in extending their influence by chartering lodges soon after 1670. As a lodge warranted for Paisley, by its authority bore the number 77, and later charters being 78 and 79 respectively for Eaglesham and East Kilbride, although in the lists of "Kilwinning" charters, published by Lyon³ and Wylie,⁴ only some thirty-three are recorded, it is clear that there are still more than forty lodges to be accounted for. These are more likely to have been constituted by "Mother Kilwinning" before 1736 than afterwards, and probably several were established—or, in Scottish phrase, erected—during the latter part of the seventeenth century. This point of itself is sufficient to account for the number of old lodges which append the name "Kilwinning" to their own special titles, such as "Hamilton Kilwinning," "Dalkeith Kilwinning," "Greenock Kilwinning," "St John's Kilwinning" (Hamilton), and others, whose claims to

¹ *Ante*, pp. 93-100.

³ *Ibid.*, December 12, 1863.

² Freemasons' Magazine, No. 231, 1863.

⁴ Wylie, *History of Mother Lodge Kilwinning*, Glasgow, 1878.

antiquity range from 1599 to 1728. There were, it is supposed, seventy-nine warrants issued by the lodge down to 1803, but neither Lyon nor Wylie, as I have said, can trace even half that number.

Now it is noteworthy, that throughout all these vicissitudes, struggles, and rivalries, the different parties never fell out upon the point of a correct knowledge of the "secrets of freemasonry." The members of "Kilwinning" and its offshoots were accepted as individuals by the Grand Lodge and its subordinates, even when as lodges they were refused countenance, and the old lodges that joined the Grand Lodge had sufficient information esoterically to obtain a brotherly greeting from *post* Grand Lodge organisations. Intercourse between the representatives of the old and the new systems of masonic government was uninterrupted for many years subsequent to 1736, and nothing can be plainer than the fact, that whatever changes were introduced by the Edinburgh freemasons, through the visit of a Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England in 1721 (of which more anon), the fellowship between the friendly rivals remained unaltered, thus proving that a sufficiency of the old forms of reception must have been retained to constitute a common means of recognition, whatever else was superadded, to keep pace with England.

The subject of masonic degrees will be referred to, as I proceed, so that portion will only be anticipated so far as to state that the *degree* of Master Mason is for the first time alluded to in the Kilwinning records on June 24, 1736, when a by-law was passed that such as are found to be qualified as apprentices and fellow-crafts "shall be raised to the dignity of a master, gratis."

The terms "enter, receive, and *pase*,"¹ occur in the warrant to the lodge chartered in 1677 by "Kilwinning," but these words, by reference to the records, are found to describe the admission and acknowledgment of apprentices and craftsmen. When the *three* degrees were worked, that circumstance was soon notified in the minutes, and so also when the new titles were adopted. Deacon was the designation of the chief officer in Kilwinning from "time immemorial," until in 1735 the presiding officer is termed "Master of ye Freemasons," in the succeeding year the prefix "Right Worshipful" was used, and soon afterwards the same officer is denominated "The Right Worshipful the *Grand Master*." In 1735 was witnessed the addition of a *second* (entitled the *junior*) warden, but in previous years wardens did not assume the chair in the absence of the deacon, the chairman under such circumstances being elected by the members. They not infrequently chose an *apprentice* to preside over them, which suggests the improbability of *degrees*, as we now understand them, having been worked at that period in the lodge. Taking all the peculiar circumstances into consideration, we are not likely to err in assuming, that the mode of admission, *so far as respects its esoteric character*, was exceedingly simple, and in accordance with the capacities of the operatives, of whom the lodges generally were mainly composed.

"LODGE OF EDINBURGH," No. 1.

Lyon's history of this ancient lodge is so exhaustive, that it would be superfluous for me to attempt to present anything like a comprehensive account of its career from its earliest records, dating back to 1599 down to the year 1736, when the Grand Lodge of Scotland was inaugurated. As some four hundred pages of closely printed matter are well filled by the

¹ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 102.

Scottish historian in doing justice to so important a subject, and even then the old minutes are not exhausted, it will readily be seen that all I can well do is to offer a reproduction of some of the chief excerpts from the records, with a running commentary on their general scope and character.

When this ancient lodge originated is not known, but the memorandum affixed to its title on the "Roll of Lodges holding under the Grand Lodge of Scotland"¹ (as also to the previous Lodge No. 0), may be safely accepted as correct, viz., "Before 1598." Its earliest minute bears date "Vltimo July 1599," and is a deliverance on a breach of the statute against the employment of *cowans*. George Patoun had vexed the souls of the deacon, warden, and master masons, by presuming to employ "ane cowane" to work at "ane chymnay heid," but on his humble submission and expression of penitence, the penalty was not imposed, though he and all others were duly warned of what awaited them, should they ever violate the law, after this exhibition of leniency. The warden's mark is appended to the minute.² Lyon draws attention to the silence of the records upon this vexatious subject from 1599 until 1693, when on December 27 the matter is again noticed, but only to impose the same penalty for permitting cowans to work, as enacted by Schaw in 1598.³ The 22d regulation states that the fines shall be devoted to "pious uses," but in 1693 the penalty was to be "for the use of the poor," which after all is an excellent practical illustration of the word *pious*.

That the lodge was in existence and flourishing the year before that of its earliest minute, already noted, is clear from the fact that the "Schaw Statutes, No. 2," rule 3, style it "*the first and principal lodge in Scotland*." I shall not now dwell upon the significant circumstance that almost an unbroken series of minutes are preserved of its transactions, from 1599 to the transition period of 1717, and from that year to 1736, when Scotland had its own Grand Lodge, down to 1883, *extending over nearly three centuries*; for the extraordinary preservation of its privileges and the continuity of its life, as a lodge, for so many years, under such eventful changes and occasionally most adverse circumstances, will, at the proper time and place, be cited as one of the strongest links in the chain of evidence which proves that several lodges, working long before the epoch of Grand Lodges, united to form such organisations; that they retained nevertheless, their inherent right of assembling without warrants—maintained, in all material points, their autonomy—and were, to all intents and purposes, as much masonic lodges *after*, as they were *before*, the era of such formations.

Two items of uncertain date, but in the same handwriting as the minute of 1599, are to the effect, firstly, that wardens are to be chosen yearly, upon St John's Day (the Evangelist); and secondly, that commissioners be elected at the same meeting, who are to act as conveners, by command of the General Warden (Schaw). The transition from December 20, as enjoined by Schaw, to December 27 was easy, and the election had the advantage of falling on a special saint's day.

Although the "Schaw Statutes, No. 2" (rule 13), provide for an annual test of apprentices and craftsmen, with regard to their skill as masons, neither the "Kilwinning" nor the "Edinburgh" Lodge minutes contain any account of such yearly trials of skill, though they may have been in force notwithstanding; and it is argued that the prescription of the essay,⁴

¹ Constitution and Laws, Edinburgh, 1881, p. 120.

² Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 25.

³ See Rule 15 of this Code.

⁴ Regular "Essay Masters" were appointed in each case, whose duty it was to be present at the performance of the

as well as the final examination and decision, rested with the "Incorporation of Mary's Chapel," so far as Edinburgh was concerned, and not with the lodge, the two being quite separate and distinct bodies. As Schaw's Statutes affected the lodges only, I can, however, hardly concur in this view. Lyon thinks it probable that the "power of raising fellow-crafts to the *position or status* of masters in operative masonry" in the seventeenth century, was vested in the Incorporations, and not in the lodges, the latter simply certifying that the candidates for such positions were duly passed as competent fellow-crafts, and in that opinion, I think, we must coincide. On January 30, 1683, the lodge objected to a son of the late Deacon Brown being passed as a fellow-craft, in order to qualify and be admitted to an essay by the "whole House" (the Incorporation), because he was only nineteen, and, therefore, too young to be "admitted to" an essay before acceptance as a master, the minimum age being fixed at twenty-one years. Three present at the meeting are termed "*old dickins*" (deacons), which correspond with modern Past Masters. In 1714 the lodge prohibited its journeymen from acting as deacon, warden, or "intendents." The office of "intendar" is a very ancient one, and, according to Lyon, a relic of it is recognisable in the custom which prevailed in the lodge till the middle of the last century, of its operative apprentices imparting certain instruction to the non-operative or speculative section of its intrants.¹

The "Incorporation of Wrights and Masons," already referred to, was constituted by an act of the Magistrates and other authorities of Edinburgh in 1475,² and though originally confined to the members of those two trades—who have for many centuries generally worked harmoniously together—in time received into their number, the glaziers, plumbers, and others, by decision of the "Court of Session" (1703). It was known usually as the "United Incorporation of Mary's Chapel," from its meetings being held in a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which was swept away on the "South Bridge" being built in 1785.³ As the lodge assembled in the same building, its rather curious name, "The Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel)," is explained.

The "Seal of Cause" is given in full by Lyon,⁴ and in many points deserves very careful examination. The petition of the masons and wrights was presented for the purpose of obtaining the consent of the Lord Provost and others, to certain statutes and rules made amongst themselves for the honour and worship of St John, in augmentation of Divine service, and the regular government of the two crafts. On a scrutiny of the regulations, they were found to be "gud and loveable baith to God and man," so their prayer was granted, and the Aisle of St John in the "College Kirk" of St Giles was assigned to them. The statutes are probably those which are recited in the document⁵ of October 15, 1475, viz. —

task, and see that the candidate actually did the work as settled on by the "House." An allusion to these craft trials will readily occur to the memories of those familiar with the works of Sir Walter Scott—himself a member of the "mystic tie"—viz., in "Rob Roy," where Diana Vernon characterises the behaviour of her lover as a *masterpiece*.

¹ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 18.

² Ratified by the Archbishop of St Andrews in 1517, by Royal Charter in 1527 and 1635, and by the Common Council in 1633 (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 230).

³ Freemasons' Magazine, March 1858.

⁴ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 231.

⁵ See Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh (Publications of the Burgh Records Society); the Statute of 1491 anent the Masons of St Giles, p. 61; and Contract, 1500-1, for Building the Tower of the Old Tolbooth, p. 89. The Rev. A. T. Grant (of Rosslyn) has also kindly drawn my attention to an old indenture between a laird and the Provost, etc.,

1. Two masons and two wrights were to be sworn to act faithfully as overseers of the work of the allied crafts.

2. All complaints to be referred to the deacon and the four overseers, and, in the last resort, to the provost and bailies (magistrates).

3. Craftsmen entering the city, and desirous of obtaining work, were to pass an examination before the "said four men," and, if accepted, they were to give a mark to the repair of the altar.

4. Masters were not to take apprentices for less than seven years; the latter to pay half a mark at entry, and to be mulct in fines for disobedience. Apprentices duly "passed" by the overseers were to pay half a mark to the altar, and "brouke the priuilege of the craft"—each man "worthy to be a master" was to be made "*freeman* and fallow."

5. Those causing discord were to be brought before the deacon and "Overmen" [*i.e.*, the four overseers], so as to secure their better behaviour, but, if still contumacious, they were threatened with the strong arm of the law.

6. The overseers were charged to take part in all general processions, "lyk as thai haf in the towne of Bruges, or siclyk gud townes," and should one of the number die and leave "no guds sufficient to bring him furth honestly," the wrights (or masons) shall, at their own cost, provide a befitting funeral for "*thair brother* of the Craft."

7. The masons and wrights were empowered to pass other statutes, which were to have similar force to the foregoing, on being allowed by the authorities, and upon their being entered in the "common buke of Edinburgh."

It should not be lost sight of, that the "*passing*" of fellow-crafts connected with the masons and wrights was relegated to overseers appointed by both trades (1, 4), who together formed a quartette of inspectors, and hence all notions of there being secret ceremonies connected with Scottish masonic receptions of the fifteenth century, save, possibly, such as the whispering of "the word," are utterly opposed to the evidence contained in this old document, as well as in others of later date, so far as respects the promotion of apprentices to fellow-crafts.

That the Incorporation would act independently of the Lodge of Edinburgh, and even sometimes in quite an opposite direction, might be expected, considering the mixed character and varied aims of the former. That the members of the Incorporation respected neither the laws nor the customs of the Freemasons of the lodge, is amply proved by reference to the records, which testify that, when the funds of the first were concerned, the rules were relaxed, and elastic measures adopted which were opposed to masonic precedent. The innovations, however, introduced by the mixed body of artificers paved the way, not only for the gradual curtailment of the lodge privileges, but for the complete overthrow of the monopolies peculiar to the Trade Incorporations themselves; hence, without intending it, the one body, by undermining the foundations of the exclusively masonic combination, were, at the same time, weakening their own, until finally, as trade monopolies, both ceased to exist.

Not only did the lodge use every means in its power to prevent "*unfreemen*," as they were called, from engaging in work on their own account in the city of Edinburgh (as in 1599, when Alexander Stheill was placed outside the pale of the free masters, who were not allowed

of Edinburgh, on the one part, and certain masons on the other, for building five chapels on the south side of the parish church of date, November 29, 1597.

to employ him but at their peril, because he set the lodge at defiance by working as a master), but even those who had lawfully served their apprenticeships were prohibited from obtaining work, or from utilising the services of other apprentices and servants until they had secured the consent of the lodge, by taking up their freedom, and of the municipal authorities, by the purchase of their tickets as burgesses.¹

Enterprise amongst the apprentices was evidently viewed with great horror by the Free Masters, who discouraged it in every possible way, notwithstanding the early statutes provided for apprentices undertaking work under certain circumstances. Lyon cites a case (A.D. 1607), in which an apprentice passed as a fellow-craft, and received his freedom, but the latter was conditional on its non-exercise for two and a half years from the date of its nominal bestowal by "Mary's Chapel!" The bond also arranged for the conditional freeman not working outside Edinburgh during the period named. The "*brethrcine frenen* of the masons of Edr." in 1652, on finding that a "*maisome journeymen*" had wronged them in "several relations," unanimously agreed not to give the offender work within their liberties for seven years, and not even then until due submission had been made. The same parties viewed with great disfavour the importation of craftsmen, and resolutely set their faces against employing any who were not approved of by the lodge. In 1672 such an event occurred; the strangers, hailing from a town about three miles distant from the city, for seven years were subjected to all possible annoyances in order to obtain their removal or prevent their securing work; eventually the small minority left—*i.e.*, gave up the struggle—in 1680. Beyond the exhibition of spleen, and imposition of fines, these outsiders were apparently not otherwise interfered with, from which it may be inferred that the lodge then possessed no real authority over craftsmen who did not acknowledge its rights and privileges. The members were naturally averse to seeing any of their customs neglected, especially when their funds decreased thereby; hence the disinclination of apprentices to pass as fellow-crafts, and pay the requisite fees, was the subject of several special rules or resolutions. In 1681 it was resolved that no masters shall employ any apprentices who act as journeymen, though not "passed" as such, if two years have elapsed since the expiration of their time; and again, in the following year, the deacon, warden, and remnant masters agreed that, for the sake of their funds for the poor, each journeyman who does not belong to the lodge shall pay the sum of 12s. (Scots) per annum, for the privilege and liberty of working with a freeman, which was to be deducted from his first month's pay by his master, and given to the warden for the time being. Should this law be disregarded, the journeyman was to be discharged from working in the city (which meant simply not being employed by members of the lodge), and the master be censured accordingly.

I have said that the Incorporation did not confine itself to following the wishes of the lodge. In 1685 the former body agreed to exact and accept fees from the apprentices of journeymen (not masters) for whom they charged wages, just as if they were regular servants or journeymen, which was in direct opposition to the lodge, though certainly, at the time, it was for the benefit of their own funds.

It is interesting to note that, however strong were the declarations of their adherence to the Schaw Statutes, the Edinburgh Freemasons of the seventeenth century did not scruple to depart from some of the rules when circumstances appeared to warrant such a course. The term of apprenticeship is a case in point, which varied according to the whims and wants of

¹ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 20.

the individual members of the lodge, who rarely mustered in any force at the meetings, the "seven years" being sometimes reduced to a much shorter period at Edinburgh and Kilwinning; hence, even in those early days, the regulations of the general warden, the highest masonic official in Scotland, were not looked upon or accepted as "unalterable landmarks," but were subject to change according to circumstances. As late as 1739 the Grand Lodge of Scotland agreed to bind, at its expense, a son of a poor operative mason to one of the *Freemen Masons* of Edinburgh, and in 1740 the indentures were agreed to for the period of *eight years*. This laudable custom of aiding poor lads ceased about 1754.

It may be of interest to note the wages received by the masons generally in Edinburgh and elsewhere. Lyon is my authority for the statement that the system of "monthly pays" was usual in Edinburgh some two hundred years ago. In Aberdeen, the master mason who was employed on church work by the Town Council received £24, 16s. 8d. *Scots* quarterly (*i.e.*, a little over £2 sterling), and his journeyman 20 marks per annum (£1, 6s. 8d.). In 1500, the masons engaged in building the steeple of the "Old Tolbooth" were paid weekly, each master 10s. *Scots* (10d. sterling) and each journeyman 9s. *Scots* (9d. sterling). In 1536, the master mason employed by the town of Dundee was paid every six weeks at the rate of £24 *Scots*, and £10 *Scots* for his apprentice, per annum; and at Lundie, Fife, in 1661, the master had per day 10d., and his journeyman 9d., "and all their diet in the house." In 1691, Lyon tells us that the value of skilled labour had much increased, the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel then enacting that no mason should work under 18s. *Scots* per day in summer, and 2s. less in winter. Much information as to this matter is obtainable by reference to Lyon's History.

The hours of labour furnish another subject intimately connected with the question of wages; but I must hasten on with my sketch, and can only spare enough space to allude to the remarkable "statute anent the government of the maister masoun of the college kirk of St Giles, 1491," extracted by Lyon from the burgh records of Aberdeen. The master and his servants were to begin their work in the summer at 5 A.M., and continue until 8, then to be allowed half an hour, resuming labour from 8.30 A.M. to 11, when two hours were given, one o'clock witnessing the resumption of work until 4 P.M.; "and than to gett a recreatioun in the commoun luge be the space of half ane hour," the remainder of the time from 4.30 P.M. to 7 being devoted to "lawbour continually." In winter the work was to commence with the (it is hoped) welcome appearance of daylight, the hours else to be kept as before, provided the men having "bot thair none shanks allanerly afternone," and labour until "day licht begane."

So far as can be traced or known, this document contains the earliest use of the word "luge" (lodge) in connection with the Scottish craft. An earlier instance of its use at York, by more than a century, is to be found noted in the "Fabric Rolls"¹ of that cathedral, and the context, with other evidence to be enumerated, clearly establishes the fact that at both periods, the word "lodge"² was understood to mean the covered shed in which the freemasons assembled to fashion the stones, to which only the regular craft had access, cowans being especially excluded.

The "Schaw Statutes, No. 1," indicate that the lodge was particular in regard to the employment of a notary for registering its proceedings; but gradually the members grew

¹ Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. xxxv.

² *Ante*, p. 303.

careless about the matter, and eventually, as Lyon informs us, the writing in the minutes devolved upon those members who were competent, hence many matters of moment were quite passed over, such as the annual election of wardens—not a single register of this important office having been made during the seventeenth century, though, fortunately, it often happens that their names are traceable through the signatures of those present at the meetings. From 1701 that omission was repaired, and ever afterwards the annual elections were as systematically recorded as they had previously been neglected.

The exact position of the journeymen masons connected with the Lodge of Edinburgh was for a long period a most tender subject, and, as we shall see further on, was fraught with many difficulties, eventually culminating in an open rupture with the master masons and a severance of their connection with the lodge. From this secession sprang the "Journeymen Lodge," No. 8 (which see). Though the journeymen were admitted to a voice in the affairs of No. 1 from 1706, or practically, from Schaw's time, they were but as cyphers in the lodge, the latter body itself being virtually an auxiliary to the incorporation of masters, the deacon or head of the masons in their incorporate capacity being also the *ex officio* head of the lodge, and, like the warden, held his appointment by the suffrages of those of its members whom the municipal authorities recognised as master masons.¹ Sometimes the offices of deacon and warden were held by the same brother, which was a most unwise combination. Apparently, from early days to the last century, the warden acted as treasurer, the corresponding officer in the Incorporation being the "*box master*," an office not unknown to some of the seventeenth century lodges. The unlimited powers of the warden, as the dispenser of the funds, were found to be prejudicial to the interests of the members; so the lodge ordained, in 1704, on St John's Day, that no portion of the moneys in "the common purse" was to be disposed of without the consent of the deacon and a quorum of the brethren.

The early records of the Lodges Nos. 0 and 1² contain no note of the initiation of the clerk (or notary), but I see no reason to suppose, from the absence of any *record* of the circumstance, that they were not regularly admitted. The first notice of the kind occurs in the records of No. 1, of date December 23, 1706, when William Marshall, clerk to the Incorporation, was admitted as an "entered apprentice and fellow-craft and clerk to the Brethren Masons, whom he is freely to serve for the honour conferred on him."³ On St John's Day, 1709, Robert Alison was similarly admitted, his being the last election under the old system. This brother continued to act as clerk to the lodge for the long period of forty-three years, for though elected the first clerk to the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1736, he remained secretary of the lesser institution, and his son subsequently followed in his steps, the latter having been initiated on St John's Day, 1737, without aught being contributed to the lodge's own funds, "on account of his father's services."

That the lodge eventually agreed to compound for the intrants' banquet, just as lodges did for "gloves" (hence "glove money"), might be anticipated, but what will be thought of a similar arrangement being made for the payment of money in lieu of arms? Strange as it may sound, the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel agreed on September 6, 1682, through the "deacons, masters, and brethren" present, that it was unprofitable and possibly dangerous to keep adding to the "magazine of arms," which each freeman had to contribute to on

¹ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 41.

² Mother Kilwinning and the Lodge of Edinburgh.

³ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 43.

his admission, and as money, besides being "*usefull in the meantyme*," could be used for the purchase of such implements of warfare in the event of there being a demand for more, instead of freemen giving in their quota of arms as formerly, the sum of £12 (Scots) was paid to the box master. There are several entries of £3, 10s. each being paid for "firelocks," so that the cash of the Incorporation was often employed to provide warlike weapons, if not directly for warlike purposes. Evidently the craftsmen composing the Incorporation were not satisfied with having only the "sinews of war," for on March 23, 1684, the vote alluded to was rescinded, and the return to the old custom was defended in a most elaborate account of the reasons which led thereto. The members considered the arms were "no less usefull defensively than offensively," and that having at that period fortified their house, and rendered it suitable for the custody of arms "kept and reserved for the defence of the true Protestant religion, king, and country, and for the defence of the ancient *cittie and their own privileges therein*," they were determined to require that "armes be given to the house," so that all of them may have the means at hand, as they were pledged "to adventure their lives and fortunes in defence of one and all" of the objects named.

These craftsmen were in no manner of doubt as to the Presbyterian form of religion being the "true" kind, for their house was granted for the use of that body as a place of worship in 1687, and they consented to the erection of "a loft in the easter gable" of the building for their better accommodation, a step which was rendered unnecessary by the Revolution of 1688.¹

Lyon has not been able to trace more than one instance of an old Scottish *lodge*, acknowledging the lawfulness of a female occupying the position of "dame" in place of a master mason—*i.e.*, in consequence of the decease of her husband—but I have no doubt myself that such occurrences were not infrequent, though not cited in the records, and the following minute of April 17, 1683, from the books of the Lodge of Edinburgh, corroborates this opinion. The deacon, warden, and several masters being present, it was agreed, in accordance with "*the former practise*," that a widow might, with the assistance of some competent freeman, receive the benefit of any work the latter may undertake on her behalf, which was offered to her by the "ancient customers of her deceased husband," and the freeman who thus obliged her was prohibited, under heavy pains and penalties, from participating in any profit which accrued. I have previously alluded to the anomalous position occupied by the widows of Freemasons,² and whilst one cannot help giving credit to the motives which prompted the passing of the foregoing resolution, it is not a little curious to note how anxious the members were to guard against the potential rivalry of masonic "dames," thus proving, if any proof were needed, that widows of Freemasons were not permitted to join the lodge, although to a certain extent they were made free of the trade.

The early records of the lodge are of course mainly taken up with accounts of the admission and booking of apprentices, and such entries need not now be recapitulated. It is remarkable, however, to note the fact that apprentices were frequently present in the lodge during the making or passing of fellow-crafts, and that they were also in attendance as active members,

¹ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 49. In the same work the prayers are reproduced which were offered at the opening and closing of the meetings of the Incorporation, A.D. 1699. They are essentially Christian and most devotional in character (*Ibid.*, p. 132).

² *Ante*, chap. ii., p. 90.

their names being inserted as attesting the entry of William Hastie, June 12, 1600; and also later on, certain apprentices are mentioned as "consenting and assenting" to the entries made of new receptions.

I shall have occasion to refer to these important facts farther on, for they certainly dispel the notion that apprentices were only present at the constitution of the lodge, but were not in attendance when the passing of fellows or masters was being transacted. Whatever masonic secrets were known to the lodge, all its members freely participated in them, from the youngest apprentice to the oldest master mason, until the era of separate degrees was inaugurated in the last century.

A singular office is introduced into the minutes of St John's Day, 1721, viz., "eldest entered apprentice." Alexander Smely accepted that position, and promised "to be faithful therein" for the ensuing year. The "eldest apprentice" officiated March 2, 1732, at the passing of a fellow-craft, and it was his duty apparently to act as president at any assemblies of apprentices, but as the modern masonic customs crept into use, this and other old titles gradually fell into desuetude, and were no more heard of. Indicative of the introduction of titles into the lodge, and the appointments to office, I shall here give the list and dates of their adoption in the Lodge of Edinburgh on the authority of Lyon, to whom also I am indebted for several other particulars which follow. 1598, warden (who was president and treasurer) and clerk; 1599, deacon, as *ex officio* president, with warden as treasurer; 1710, chairman first called "preses;" 1712, officer (tyler from 1763); 1731, presiding officer designated "grand master;" 1735, presiding officer designated "master;" 1736, depute master first appointed; 1737, senior and junior wardens, treasurer, and two stewards; 1739, "old master" (changed to past master in 1798); 1759, substitute master; 1771, master of ceremonics; 1798, chaplain; 1809, deacons; 1814, standard bearers; 1814, inside and outside tylers; 1836, architect; 1840, jeweller; 1848, trustees; 1865, director of music.

The office of clerk to the lodge was a life appointment until 1752, when it became subject to an annual election. In 1690 William Livingstone, writer in Edinburgh, presented a petition to Parliament¹ praying to be reponed in office as clerk to the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel, to which he had been appointed *ad vitam aut culpam*, and from which he had been deposed, "because he refused to comply with the Test Act of 1681." The petitioner had his prayer granted, and the Incorporation was ordered to reinstate him.

Before concluding the excerpts from the records of the Lodge of Edinburgh, I shall now refer to the admission of *speculative* masons, the first being in 1600. I use the word *speculative* as an equivalent for *non-operative*, and shall employ these adjectives as convertible terms, so that the expression "*speculative mason*" need not rouse the susceptibilities of any one after the explanation thus given. My meaning will be evident, viz., one who has been admitted as a mason, without any intention of qualifying as such, save as respects any esoteric knowledge or peculiar privileges, and the same definition applies to any persons who join other trades in like manner. The earliest minute of the presence of a speculative freeman mason in a lodge, and taking part in its deliberations, is dated June 8, 1600, a facsimile of the record from the minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh being one of the adornments of Lyon's History. *When* the brother in question was admitted it is impossible now to decide, suffice it to say, that

¹ Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ix., p. 68b.

"Jhone Boiswell of Achinleck," with the others (y^e saidis maisteris), "*afficit yr markis*," in witness of the accuracy of the entry, the clerk styling him "ye Laird of Aichinleck." It appears to have been a special assembly at "Halerudhous," the "Master of y^e werk to ye Kingis Ma'stie" being present, and, probably, was chiefly convened to determine what fine "Jhone Broune, Warden of y^e Ludge of Edr," had incurred through his having "contraveinit ane actt." It might surely have been expected that this instance of the attendance and participation at a masonic meeting, by a non-operative or speculative brother (for they were all called brethren even then), would have been allowed to pass muster without any embellishment or addition of any kind. Not so, however. Lawrie declares that *Thomas Boswell*, Esq. of Auchinleck, was made a *warden* of the lodge in the year 1600. It will be seen that, short as the preceding sentence is, it contains two errors, one being of a grave character, viz., that Boswell was made a warden in 1600,¹ which is not true; the first speculative mason in No. 1 who held that honour not being appointed until 1727, in which respect it will be seen that "Mary's Chapel" was long behind such lodges as Kilwinning and Aberdeen, which, many years previously, permitted non-operatives to rule over them. I shall have to speak of other members of this old family who were connected with the craft, but at present must confine myself to seventeenth century initiations. The chief of these, accepted by the Lodge of Edinburgh, is thus referred to in the ancient records:²—

"The 3 day off Joulay 1634. The quhilk day the Right honirabell my Lord Alexander is admitet folowe off the craft be Hewe Forest, diken, and Alexander Nesbet, warden; and the hell rest off the mesteres off mesones off Edenbroch; and therto eurie mester heath supscruiet with ther handes or set to ther markes [Deacon and Warden's marks], Jn. Watt, Thomas Paterstone, Alexander, John Mylln."

Similar entries attest the reception of Anthonie Alexander, Right Honourable Master of Work to his Majesty; Sir Alexander Strachan of Thorntoun, on the same date; and of Archibald Steuaret in July 1635; whilst on December 27, 1636, "Johne Myllne, dekene and warden, with the heall consent of the heall masters, *frie*³ mesones of Ednr, Dauied Dellap, prentes to Parech Breuch, is med an enterit prentes;" on August 25 and December 27, 1637, Daued Ramsay and Alexander Alerdis were respectively admitted to membership, the former as a fellow and *brother* of the craft, and the latter as a "fellow off craft in and amongst the Mrs off the loudg." On February 16, 1638, Herie Alexander, "Mr off Work" to his Majesty, was received as a "fellow and brother;" and on May 20, 1640, James Hamiltone being Deacon, and Johne Meyenis, Warden, "and the rest off Mrs off meson off edenbr. conuened," was admitted the Right Hon. "Alexander Hamiltone, generall of the artelerie of thes kindom, to be fellow and Mr off the forsed craft."

Fnurther entries show the admission of William Maxwell, "doctor off Fisek," July 27, 1647; and on March 2, 1653, of James Neilsone, "master sklaitter to his majestie," who had been "entered and past in the Lodge of Linlithgow." On December 27, 1667, Sir Patrick

¹ Findel (History of Freemasonry, p. 113) reproduces the same error, and numerous minor authorities, as usual, follow suit.

² Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 79-81.

³ According to Lyon, this minute contains the earliest instance yet discovered of "Free Mason" being in Scotland applied to designate members of the mason craft, and was evidently used as an abbreviation of the term "Free-men Masons"—i.e., master masons, legally entitled to exercise their vocation as such within the liberties of the town or burgh of which they were burgesses (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 79). Cf. post, p. 409.

Hume of Polwarth was admitted as "fellow of craft and *Master*;" on June 24, 1670, the Right Hon. "Mr William Morray, His Mai'ties Justic Deput, Mr Walter Pringle, Advocat," and the Right Hon. Sir John Harper of Cambusnethen, as brothers and fellow-crafts.

Lord Alexander, who was admitted as a fellow-craft in 1634 (died 1638) with his brother Sir Anthony Alexander (sons of the first Earl of Stirling), took an active interest in the society, and frequently attended the meetings, signing the records, in the first instance, with the addition of their marks, as did also Sir Alexander Strachan. The second mentioned (died 1637) was, at the time of his reception, Master of Work to Charles I, and presided over an important assembly of master tradesmen at Falkland, October 26, 1636, to which I shall refer when noting the records of the "Atcheson-Haven" Lodge.

Archibald Stewart (initiated July 1635), judging from his autograph, was also a man of education, and as he attended the lodge with the three brethren previously recorded, who attested his reception, it is probable, as Lyon suggests, that he was a personal friend of theirs.

The David Ramsay mentioned in the excerpt of 1637 (August 25), was "a gentleman of the Privy Chamber" according to Bishop Burnett;¹ and Henrie Alexander, who was passed a fellow-craft in the following year, succeeded his brother as General Warden and Master of Work, occupying that office, however, prior to the reception named. He became the third Earl of Stirling, and died in 1650; but he did not regularly attend the Lodge of Edinburgh, though we meet with his name in the Atcheson-Haven Lodge records, March 27, 1638.

The Right Hon. William Murray, who became a fellow-craft in 1670, was "a member of the Faculty of Advocates, and rose to considerable eminence at the Bar;" and Mr Walter Pringle, also an advocate, was the second son of John Pringle, by his wife Lady Margaret Scott, daughter of the Earl of Buccleuch, and brother of Sir Robert Pringle, the first baronet of Stichel; the third reception being that of Sir John Harper, also a member of the Scottish Bar, and sheriff-depute of the county of Lanark.

The admission of General Alexander Hamilton, on May 20, 1640, and of the Right Hon. Sir Patrick Hume, Bart., on December 27, 1667, are especially recorded as constituting these intrants, "*fellow and Mr off the forsed craft*," and "*fellow of craft (and Master) of this lodg*," respectively.

It may be assumed that the term *Master* simply meant that a compliment was paid these two brethren, and nothing more. Certainly there was nothing corresponding with the ceremony of a separate master mason's degree at that time, for we know that the position of master then, amongst the operatives, merely implied that certain privileges were exercised, with the approval of the trade; this *status*, moreover, was generally conferred by the *Incorporation*. As these two brethren were *speculative* members, no objection appears to have been raised to their being called *Masters*, hence apparently they were so described; and we may feel tolerably confident that they did not set up as master masons on their own account!

Many of the operatives did not view the introduction of the speculative element with favour, and at one time the promoters and the opponents of the innovation were divided into hostile camps, but eventually those who supported the "Gentlemen" or "Geometric" Masons won the day, the "Domatics" having to succumb to the powerful influences arrayed against them. In No. 1, however, the latter held "the balance of power" in their hands; but in the Lodge of Aberdeen, the majority in A.D. 1670 were actually non-operative or *speculative* members!

¹ Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, 1677.



WILLIAM PEARCE ESQ.

PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER OF GLASGOW.

Thomas C. Jack, London & Edinburgh.

General Hamilton was present with the Scottish army at Newcastle, May 20, 1641, on which day, together with certain masters and others of the Lodge of Edinburgh, he took part in the admission of "Mr. the Right Honerabell Mr Robert Moray (Murray), General Quarter Mr. to the arnie off Scotlan." The proceedings of this emergent meeting were duly accepted by the authorities, though taking place beyond the boundaries of the Scottish kingdom. The minute states that "the same bing approuen be the hell mester off the mesone of the Log. off Edenbroth," and the entry is ratified by the signatures and marks of four brethren, including the two Generals. The Quartermaster-general took part in the business of the lodge held July 27, 1647, on the occasion of the admission of Dr William Maxwell, as already cited. These irregular admissions, however, were not so readily condoned in the event of ordinary operatives being the offenders, or, in other words, it made every difference who it was that presided at the meetings. On December 27, 1679, John Fulton, one of the freemen, was placed in "Coventry" and his servants called upon to leave his employ, because of his presuming "to pass and enter severall gentlemen without licence or commission from this place." The neighbourhood of Ayr was selected by this over-zealous mason for introducing speculative members into the fraternity, and as his conduct so greatly roused the ire of the authorities, he must have thought "discretion was the better part of valour," for he humbly supplicated a return of his privileges, paid £4 as a fine, "and promised to behave as a brother" for the future; whereupon the vexed souls of the masters relented, and he was duly "reponed." Still it is singular to mark that there is no resolution passed against the reception of gentlemen as masons, either in or out of the lodge, and the objection seems to have arisen out of the fancy of a particular brother to select himself as the medium of such admissions. The subject presents many features of interest, and is worthy of more careful consideration than either time or space will now permit.

The entry of March 2, 1653, is an important one, for it is nothing more or less than the election of a "joining member." It seems that James Neilson, "master slater" to the king, who had been "entered and past in the Lodge of Linlithgow," was desirous of being received as a member of the Lodge of Edinburgh, and on the day named the whole company elected him as a "brother and fellow of their companie," and, in witness thereof, they all "set to their hands or marks."¹

One more remark on these records, and I have done. Lyon declares that the reference to "frie mesones," in the minute of December 27, 1636 (before quoted), is the earliest instance yet discovered of "Free-mason" being in Scotland applied to designate members of the mason craft, and considers that it is used as an abbreviation of the term "Freemen-masons."

In the latter opinion I concur, and so does Hughan—who has devoted more time to the elucidation of these old Scottish records than any one else in this country. But, as regards the earliest use of the word *freemason*,² I think that virtually it may be traced back to 1581, when the "Melrose" version of the "Old Charges"³ was originally written, of which

¹ Lyon observes: "The fact of an operative slater having been 'entered and passed' in the Lodge of Linlithgow, affords evidence that in the first half of the seventeenth century the membership of the lodge in question was not purely masonic" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 80).

² By this, of course, is meant, in connection with *Lodges* (see *ante*, pp. 66, 308, 338, 362).

³ *Ante*, chap. ii., p. 89.

the *copy* of 1674 is alone preserved. In that document the expression free mason ("frie mason") occurs very frequently, and clearly was then used as synonymous with freemasons, the term "frie-men" being cited therein as an equivalent for *freemason*. There are so many examples of the use of freemen, freemasons, brother freemen, freemen masters, and like terms, back to the fifteenth century, that unless violence be done to the ordinary meaning of words, I cannot see how any interpretation can be placed upon such designations other than that advanced, in which I have the singular good fortune to find myself wholly in agreement with both Lyon and Hughan.

"CANONGATE KILWINNING" LODGE, NO. 2.

It was the custom in the seventeenth century, as we have just seen, for some lodges to permit certain members to enter and pass masons at a distance from their regular places of meeting, which occasioned much irregularity of proceeding, and prevented the exercise of that due care with regard to admissions which is so essential to the prosperity of the craft. These practices appear generally to have been reported at the next assembly of the lodge, and duly noted, the fees paid, and membership allowed. The first authoritative commission or warrant seems to have been that issued by the Lodge of Kilwinning (No. 0) to several of their own members resident in the Canongate, Edinburgh, dated December 20, 1677. This was a direct invasion of jurisdiction, for it was not simply a charter to enable their members to *meet* as masons in Edinburgh, but it empowered them to act as a lodge, quite as much as "Mother Kilwinning" herself, totally disregarding the proximity of the "First and Head Lodge of Scotland." We have seen that a friendly invasion of England was masonically consummated in 1641 at Newcastle by No. 1, but the transaction was confined to the initiation of one of their own countrymen, and there the matter ended; but the authority granted to the "Canongate Kilwinning" Lodge amounted to a warrant for its constitution and *separate existence*, which was the actual result that ensued.

The charter to this lodge, which may be fairly termed the "Premier Scottish Warrant of Constitution," runs as follows:—

"At the ludge of Killwinning the twentie day of december 1677 yeares, deacons and wardanes and the rest of the brethren, considering the love and favour shounye to us be the rest of the brethren of the cannigate in Edinbronghe, ane part of our number being willing to be boked and inroled the qch day gives power and liberty to them to enter, receave, and pass ony qualified persons that they think fitt, in name and behalf of the ludge of Killwinning, and to pay ther entry and booking moneys due to the s^d ludge, as we do our selves, they sending on of ther number to us yearly, and we to do the lyke to them if need be. The qlk day ther names are insert into this book."¹

The document was signed (actually, or by proxy) by twelve brethren, their marks being generally attached, and it is entered *verbatim* in the books of the mother lodge, the original warrant being now lost. The record of the transaction in the minutes of the "Canongate Kilwinning" Lodge for 1736—the year next following that from which its earliest writings are believed to date—is not a correct version of the proceedings, and appears to have been

¹ There is an excellent facsimile of this extraordinary resolution of 1677 in Lyon's "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," p. 101. See also Freemasons' Magazine, August 8, 1863, for an account of the Lodge.

penned with a view to sustaining the claim of the members to a high position on the Scottish roll. The lodge was reorganised in 1735 by *speculative* Freemasons, and in that year the members worked the third degree, although not the first so to do in Scotland, that honour being claimed for another offshoot of the "Mother Kilwinning," viz.—the "Edinburgh Kil-winning Scots Arms" of 1729, the brethren of which were theoretical or speculative masons.

No. 2 performed a very important part in the inauguration of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and the latter body has acknowledged that the former dates from December 20, 1677.

"SCOON AND PERTH" LODGE, NO. 3.

This ancient lodge, like several others, is much older than No. 2, but has had to rest satisfied with its position as fourth on the roll, though the authorities state that it existed "before 1658," and the Grand Lodge acknowledges this date at the present time, placing Nos. 0 and 1, however, as "before 1598," and No. 57 (Haddington) at 1599, there being also many bearing seventeenth century designations.

Laurie says that the lodge is one "of great antiquity, and possesses a series of well-kept records for upwards of two hundred years."¹ It is singular that the minutes have so far escaped examination by any known masonic historian, and even when Hughau visited the city he failed to obtain a glance at them; the little he found out about the lodge is given in his "Early History of British Freemasonry."² He also printed in the *Masonic Magazine*³ an exact transcript of a document known as its "Charter," dated December 24, 1658. This instrument—which is signed by J. Roch, "Mr Measone," Andro Norie, warden, and thirty-nine members—is quite different from any other of the seventeenth century MSS. It combines features of the "Old Charges"⁴ with items of local interest, and also recites the "Kilwinning" and other legends. It speaks of the "Lodge of Scoon" as being second in the nation, priority being given to Kilwinning, and a singular reticence is observed as to Edinburgh. The masons are frequently described as masters, friemen, and fellow-crafts, and the recital of the traditions and laws begins—"In the name of God, amen," the conclusion being so unique that I give it *verbatim*.

"And Lastlie, wee, and all of ws off ane mynd, consent, and assent, doe bind and obledge ws, and our successoris, to mantayne and wphold the haill liberties and previledges of the said Lodge of Scoon, as ane frie Lodge, for entering and passing within ourselves, as the bodie thereof, residing within the burgh of Perth as sd is; And that soe long as the Sun ryseth in the East and setteth in the West, as we wold wish the blessing of God to attend ws in all our wayes and actions." This reference to the "glorious luminary of nature" will at least arrest our attention, as suggestive that speculative Freemasonry was then not wholly unknown in the city of Perth, and may well challenge the research of those modern craftsmen who find for every existing ceremony an ancient prototype. The term *free* lodge is also a most expressive one, pointing to the use of the word *free* as a prefix to mason, a conjunction upon which I have many times commented, and shall yet have occasion to say a few final words.

The same record states that, according to the "Knowledge of our predecessoris ther cam one from the North countrie, named Johne Mylne,⁵ ane measone or man weill experted in his calling, who entered himselff both frieman and burges of this brugh." In process of time,

¹ Laurie's History of Freemasonry, 1859, p. 368.

² October 1878.

⁴ *Ante*, chap. ii., p. 78.

² Voice of Freemasonry, May 1872.

⁵ *Ante*, pp. 294, 322.

because of his skill, he was preferred to be the king's master mason, and he was also master of the lodge.

His son, "Johne Milne," succeeded him in both offices, "in the reigne off his Majestie King James the Sixt, of blessed memorie, *who, by the said second Johne Mylne, was (be the King's own desire) entered Freeman, measone, and fellow-craft.*" This royal initiation naturally calls for special remark, hence we read, "During all his lyfetime he mantayned the same as ane member of the Lodge of Scoon, so that *this Lodge is the most famous Lodge (iff weill ordered) within the kingdome.*" Well done, Perth! Of the family of Mylne there continued several generations who were master masons to their majesties the Kings of Scotland until 1657, at which time "the last Mr Mylne being Mr off the Lodge off Scoon, *deceased*, left behind him ane compleit Lodge of measones, friemen, and fellow-crafts, wh such off ther number as wardens and others to oversie them, and ordained that one of the said number should choyse one of themselves to succed as master in his place." The several persons named, nominated and made choice of James Roch to be master *ad vitam*, and Andrew Norie as warden (both being subject to the "convenience" of the masters and fellow-crafts); all agreeing to confirm the old acts, the chief being:—

1. No frieman to contradict another unlawfully.
2. "Nor goe to no other Lodge, nor mak ane Lodge among themselves, seeing this Lodge is the prin^e within the Shyre."
3. If any freeman leave the lodge for another, he can only return on payment of three times the sum exigible on his joining either, and shall "*be put cleane from the company of the Lodge he was last in.*"¹
4. The master and warden before named to see these rules carried out.
5. No master to take another's work unless so entitled.
6. Masters not to "go between" their fellows engaged in seeking work.
7. Apprentices and journeymen belonging to this (or any other) lodge must have their *free discharge* from their previous masters prior to re-engagement, an exception, however, permitted in the case of twenty days' services only.
8. All fellow-crafts passed in this lodge, shall pay £16 (Scots), beside the gloves and dues, with £3 (Scots) at their "first incoming, after they are past."
9. If these sums are not paid at once, "cautioners" must be obtained *outside the lodge*.
10. Apprentices not to take work above 40s. (Scots), and not to have apprentices under the penalty of being "dabared from the libertie of the said Lodge."

The Milnes were a famous masonic family, the third John Milne having been called to Edinburgh in 1616 to undertake the erection of the king's statue. On the death of William Wallace in 1631, Milne was appointed master mason to Charles I., which office he resigned in 1636 in favour of his eldest son "Johne Mylne, younger," who, in 1633, was made a fellow-craft in the Lodge of Edinburgh, became "deacon of the lodge and warden" in 1636, and served in the former office for many years, having been re-elected ten times during twenty-seven years. This same Mylne was at the masonic meeting at Newcastle in 1641, and his brother Alexander was "passed" June 2, 1635, in the presence of his "brother," Lord Alexander, Sir Anthony Alexander, and Sir Alexander Strachan. Robert was apprenticed to his uncle

¹ That the dues should be paid prior to joining another lodge is a requirement of modern lodges as well as of the ancient craft

John, in Lodge No. 1, December 27, 1653, and was elected warden in 1663, also deacon in 1681, taking a leading part in masonic business until 1707. Robert Mylne appears to have succeeded his uncle as master mason to Charles I., being so designated in an agreement with the Perth authorities for the rebuilding of the cross which had been removed from High Street, through the possession of the city by Cromwell.

William, his eldest son, was received into the Lodge of Edinburgh, December 27, 1681, and was warden several times from 1695, dying in 1728.

Thomas Mylne, eldest son of the latter, "was entered and admitted as apprentice, December 27, 1721; chosen Eldest Prentice, December 27, 1722; admitted and received fellow-craft, December 27, 1729; and chosen 'master of the society,' December 27, 1735." Noticing the connection of this worthy with the Lodge of Edinburgh, Lyon points out the remarkable fact "of his having been *entered* in what may emphatically be termed the transition period of its existence,—of his having been *advanced* during the masonic twilight which preceded the institution of the Grand Lodge of Scotland,—and of his having maintained a connection with the lodge until every vestige of its operative character had disappeared."¹

Robert and William Mylne (sons of Thomas Mylne) were also members of the lodge, and on the death of the former in 1811 (who was buried in St Paul's Cathedral, having been surveyor of that edifice for fifty years), this family's connection with the Lodge of Edinburgh, which had been maintained *through five successive generations*, was terminated.

This ancient lodge at Perth joined the Grand Lodge of Scotland, I believe, in 1742, not having taken any part in the inauguration of that body, its age being admitted, as already noted, to be "before 1658."

LODGE OF "GLASGOW ST JOHN," NO. 3 *bis*.

This is an old lodge undoubtedly, though its documents do not date back quite as far as some of its admirers have declared. Its secondary position to "Mother Lodge Kilwinning" I have already noticed, though it does not appear that the subordination lasted for any long period, and at all events it did not affect its separate and distinct existence, for its name appears in the second of the St Clair Charters. The noted fabrication, entitled the "Malcolm Charter," originally said to be of the year 1057, but afterwards dated about a century later, will be duly examined in a future chapter. The second in order, or rather the first of the genuine documents, is the "William the Lion Charter" of the twelfth century. The original has not been preserved, but a copy is to be found in "Hamilton of Wishaw's description of the sheriffdoms of Lanark and Renfrew," compiled about 1710,² and it is recorded in the venerable Register of the Bishopric.³ A translation is given in the history of the lodge which is attached to its by-laws (1858).

Every line of this singular document (as I am informed by the Rev. A. T. Grant) is inconsistent with the charter phraseology of the period to which it has been *assigned*. Yet if we concede its authenticity, I fail to see that the pedigree of the *lodge* is carried any higher. Money was required for the restoration of the cathedral, and it was evidently for this purpose that the

¹ History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 94.

² Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1831. See also Mackenzie Walcott's *Scoti-Monasticon*, London, 1874, appendix ii., p. 162.

³ Hughan, *Voice of Masonry*, June 1872.

patronage of the king was solicited. The "charter" proceeds to state that "the fraternity appointed by the Right Rev. Jocelyn, Bishop of said Cathedral, with advice of the Abbots, Priors, and other clergy of his diocese, we devoutly receive and confirm by the support of our Royal protection, aye and until the finishing of the Cathedral itself; and all the collectors of the same fraternity,¹ and those who request aid for its building, we have taken into our favour." It has been too hastily concluded that the word "fraternity" means the lodge, but I demur to any such interpretation, the intention manifestly being to describe a religious fraternity which had been formed to promote the renovation or restoration of the cathedral. The inference that the charter referred to a masonic lodge appears to me wholly unwarranted by the context. Moreover, who ever heard of the builders of a fabric being also collectors of the funds?

The "Seal of Cause" of A.D. 1600 was required to separate the wrights from the masons as an Incorporation, the coopers having been disjoined in 1569. The reasons offered by the wrights for such division are carefully recited, and appear to be fair and conclusive, the prayer of the petitioners being granted by the magistrates and town council on May 3, 1600. The *wrights* (carpenters) had a deacon and elder, and are called *freemen*. They pointed out that the masons could not judge of *their* work, and *vise versa*; and that the same arguments which led to the separate establishment of the coopers, operated also in their favour. The grant was made "For the loyving of God almyty Father Sone and Halie Gaist" (as with the "Old Charges"), and provision was made therein for the regular management of the Incorporation, election of officers, etc.²

Mr W. P. Buchan³ states that the first notice in the minutes of the "Glasgow Incorporation of Masons" bears date September 22, 1620, viz., "Entry of Apprentices to the Lodge of Glasgow, the last day of December 1613 years, compeared John Stewart, Deacon of Masons, and signified to David Slater, Warden of the Lodge of Glasgow, and to the remenant brethren of that Lodge; that he was to enter John Stewart, his apprentice, in the said Lodge. Lykas upon the morn, being the first day of January 1614 years, the said warden and brethren of the said Lodge entered the said John Stewart, younger, apprentice to the said John Stewart, elder, conform to the acts and liberty of the Lodge." The deacons' courts in 1601 consisted of a deacon, six quartermasters, two keepers of the keys, an officer, and clerk. James Ritchie was accused of feeing a cowan, and in the record of the Incorporation, May 1, 1622, it is stated in his favour that "he was entered with a Lodge, and had a discharge of a master in Paisley." No old records of the lodge have as yet been discovered, but the foregoing proves its existence early in the seventeenth century, and as we know the Incorporation has continued to exist, from its separate constitution in 1600 to the present time, I think there need be no doubt thrown upon the continuity of the lodge during the period covered from 1613 to the commencement of its existing minutes. That it was represented on the occasion of the second "St Clair Charter," is unquestionable, for it was described as "The Ludge of Glasgow, John Boyd, deakin; Rob. Boyd, ane of the mestres."

¹ "Et omnes ejusdem fraternitatis collectores."

² Mention is made of the expensive banquets in former times, which it was decided not to continue. They were given by each freeman on his entry. "*Booths to work in*" corresponding with the *Lodges* of Freemasons are mentioned; apprentices were bound for seven years; the most experienced masters were selected to pass and visit all men's work; and no craftsman was to set up a *booth* in the city until he was first made *burgess and freeman* of the same (Seal of Cause, etc., 1600, printed from the original at Edinburgh, MDCCXL, 4to, 12 pp.).

³ Freemasons' Magazine, April 3, 1869.

After a deal of delicate management the lodge was placed on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1850 as No. 3 *bis*, though it was not the fault of the members that they failed to obtain a higher position. Thus one after another the old lodges became united to the Grand Lodge, until there is now but a solitary representative left of the ancient *ateliers*, which still prefers isolation and independence to union and fraternity. I refer to the old Lodge of Melrose, of which I shall have to speak farther on.

The membership of the "Lodge of Glasgow," unlike that of other pre-eighteenth century lodges, was exclusively *operative*, and "although doubtless giving the mason word to entered apprentices, none were recognised as members till they had joined the Incorporation, which was composed of mason burgesses. The erection of 'St Mungo's' in 1729 was the result of an unsuccessful attempt to introduce *non-operatives* into the St John's Lodge, Glasgow, an object which was not attained until about the year 1842."¹

"CANONGATE AND LEITH, LEITH AND CANONGATE" LODGE, NO. 5.

I pass over the "Glasgow Kilwinning" Lodge, No. 4, dating from 1735, as too late for my present purpose, after which comes the foregoing numbered 5. It is authoritatively acknowledged as dating from A.D. 1688, in which year the schism is recorded in the minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh, the seceders being composed of masons in Leith and the Canongate, hence the title of the lodge. They were charged with disobeying the masonic laws, by presuming "to antar and pase" within the precincts of the old lodge, and of having erected a lodge amongst themselves without the authority of *any royal or general warden*.² Then followed, as usual, a recital of all the pains and penalties, but notwithstanding the strong measures taken to stamp out the rebellion, only one of the defaulters appears to have made submission and returned within the fold, viz., James Thomson, who was pardoned on payment of the fine of £10 (Scots). The earliest minutes now possessed by the lodge begin in 1830, but the charter of confirmation, dated February 8, 1738, acknowledges its descent "from the mason lodge of Mary's Chapel in Edinburgh,"³ its precedence being allowed from May 29, 1688, "*in respect its book was produced which contains a minute of that date, and which was openly read in presence of the Grand Lodge.*" Its presence at the constitution of the Grand Lodge in 1736 was objected to by the parent lodge, but without avail, soon after which the harmonising influences of the new organisation led to a renewal of the old friendship. As a lodge it was mainly of a speculative character, for of the fifty-two names enrolled on November 30, 1736, *only eighteen were operative masons!*

LODGE OF "OLD KILWINNING ST JOHN," INVERNESS, NO. 6.

A charter of confirmation was granted by the Grand Lodge of Scotland to this lodge on November 30, 1737, its existence being admitted from the year 1678, but much of the value of the record is vitiated from the fact, that it is gravely stated therein that the lodge had "practised the passing of master masons from that period."⁴ Its antiquity is not noted in the

¹ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 413.

² No one has yet discovered that such an officer ever did warrant a lodge, however, and it is most unlikely to have occurred.

³ Another lodge also claims descent from No. 1—viz., the lodge at Coltness, which, Lyon states, obtained its charter in 1737 (1738?). The members maintained that for more than *thirty* years previously they had worked the third degree; but I need hardly say that the *proof* of this statement was not forthcoming.

⁴ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 215.

registers of "Mother Kilwinning," though Lawrie says, "it goes the farthest back of all the Kilwinning lodges, none of the others going beyond 1724," which opinion, however, is open to question.

"HAMILTON KILWINNING" LODGE, NO. 7.

The lodge occurs on the roll of the Grand Lodge as No. 7, and is considered to date from the year 1695. Of its history, but little is known.

"LODGE OF JOURNEYMEN," EDINBURGH, NO. 8.

Officially entitled to precedence from 1709, and numbered 8 on the revised roll, the "Journeymen" of Edinburgh have much reason to be proud of their position and prosperity, considering the strong influence originally brought to bear against their lodge.

The introduction of the speculative element into the Lodge of Edinburgh, and the exclusive character of the Incorporation of Mary's Chapel, as well as the domineering spirit of the masters in both organisations, all tended to keep the journeymen masons in a subordinate position. They did not, however, submit easily to the yoke; and as their class increased in knowledge, and monopolies were gradually abolished, the leading spirits among them rebelled, and soon set the masters at defiance. In 1705 steps were taken to enforce the rules against journeymen working on their own account, *i.e.*, without masters employing them. I quite think with Mr William Hunter that the subjection of the journeymen in the lodge, arose from their condition in life rather than from their belonging to a lower grade in speculative masonry. The masters referred to in almost every one of the early minutes, were, therefore, most probably simply *masters in trade*, and not masters in the sense in which they are now regarded in the masonic lodges of this country.¹ The old records of No. 8 are missing, those preserved commencing in 1740; but there are not wanting evidences of its career years before that period. The centenary of the lodge was celebrated in 1807, and I think that its origin or separation from No. 1 was in 1707, *not* 1709.² The resolution passed by the journeymen in 1708 to raise money for the poor members was signed by forty-four brethren, the name of almost every one of whom is found in the books of No. 1, for that lodge was most particular in enrolling all those whom it either entered or passed. On December 27, 1708, the Fellow-Crafts (Journeymen) presented a petition to the parent lodge, asking for a fuller inspection of the accounts, and in response to the memorial six discreet "fellows" were allowed to be nominated as a committee of inspection. This arrangement continued for some years, but the smouldering embers of discontent were fanned into renewed life, by the imposition of an annual subscription of 20s. Scots, payable by journeymen for the privilege of being employed by masters of the Incorporation! Mr Hunter, in his excellent sketch, expresses an opinion that the decisions of the Lodge of Edinburgh in August 1712 finally completed the rupture, for the masters rescinded the resolution appointing the committee of inspection, doubtless being aggrieved at the separate lodge formed by the craftsmen, and the zealous watch they kept over the general funds of the society. On the passing of the resolution, all the journeymen present but two left the lodge, headed by James Watson, deacon of the Incorporation, and *preses* (master) of No. 1. Then,

¹ W. Hunter, "History of the Lodge of Journeymen" (Freemasons' Magazine, March 1858, p. 571).

² Although Lyon is inclined to fix upon St John's Day 1712 as the period of origin, I am disposed to follow the computation of Mr Hunter. Cf. History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 135.

“war to the knife” was declared; all who were left behind in the lodge agreed that none of the recusant journeymen should be received back into the society until they had given full satisfaction for their contemptuous conduct, and the masters prohibited the apprentices from assisting the journeymen in entering apprentices, under the penalty of being disowned by the parent lodge. The desertion from No. 1 of the deacon and *preses* (James Watson) was a severe blow to its prestige, and proved of immense benefit to the journeymen, who thus had a competent master to preside over them. On February 9, 1713, the parent lodge met, and elected David Thomson, “late deacon of the masons, to preside in all their meetings.” He was succeeded by William Smellie, a most determined antagonist of the seceders, who initiated very stringent measures against them. All this while the journeymen were working actively, and lost no opportunities of entering and passing masons within the royalty of No. 1 to the manifest injury of the original lodge. They would neither surrender their arms nor break up their society, notwithstanding the severity of the laws passed against them, and even though all the united influence of the old Lodge and Incorporation was exerted to procure their suppression. The opposition they received, and the indomitable courage they evinced, are unparalleled in the early history of the Scottish craft, and, whilst proving that the powerful influence of the lodge and Incorporation, wielded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was on the wane, foreshadowed that the pluck and perseverance of the journeymen were finally to overcome all obstacles, and secure for ever their independence. On the assumption, apparently, that the journeymen would be overawed and eventually succumb on resort being made to the law, the Lodge of Edinburgh and the Incorporation jointly agreed to obtain a warrant for the apprehension and detention of two of the malcontents named William Brodie and Robert Winram. Accordingly these two journeymen were confined in the city guard-house, and the books of their society were also seized at the instance of the same authorities.¹

How long the detention lasted we are not told, but the journeymen did not delay in bringing an action for the unlawful imprisonment of two of their number and the abstraction of their records. The damages were laid at a considerable amount, the defendants being the deacon of the wrights and the deacon of the masons (representing the Incorporation), who was also the *preses* of the lodge. Whilst the case was before the Lords of Council and Session, the dispute was referred to the arbitration of Robert Inglis (late deacon of the goldsmiths) on behalf of the plaintiffs, and Alexander Nisbet (late deacon of the surgeons) on the part of the defendants, and in the event of an amicable settlement being impossible, then the final decision was left to John Dunbar, deacon of the glovers, full powers being given to the said parties for the purpose of obtaining all needful testimony on the various points raised. This was arranged on November 29, 1714, the “Decreet Arbitral” being accepted and subscribed to on January 8, 1715, by those interested and the necessary witnesses. The document, which is without parallel masonically, proves that the craft had no insuperable objection to their disputes being adjusted under the sanction of the law, and in a matter of such consequence, there being nothing said about the hereditary grand mastership, it may safely be concluded that at the period in question, there were no brethren invested with any masonic rank beyond what was conferred by individual lodges or the Incorporation.

² The arbitrators adjudged £100 to be paid Brodie and Winram by the two deacons,

¹ Brodie and Winram were apprenticed in the Lodge of Edinburgh A.D. 1694, and passed fellow-crafts in 1700.

² The whole “Decreet Arbitral” is given by Hughan, in “Voice of Masonry,” July 1872; and by Lyon, in his “History of the Lodge of Edinburgh.”

because they had used undue severity, and that the books must be returned to their lawful owners on a receipt being given by the plaintiffs. They next decided that the deacons and the whole body of Freemen Masters of the Incorporation of Masons were absolved from accounting to the journeymen for the money received "*for giving the mason word, as it is called*," either to freemen or journeymen, prior to the date of the "Decreet Arbitral." In order to put an end to the disputes arising between the said freemen and journeymen, "*anent the giving of the mason word*," the two deacons were instructed to procure from their Incorporation, "an act or allowance, allowing the journeymen to meet together by themselves as a society for giving the word," etc. Provided always (1.) that their "meetings, actings, and writings be only concerning their collecting the moneys for giving the mason word," etc.; (2.) that the moneys thus obtained be used for charitable purposes connected with themselves; (3.) that a register be kept of the moneys so received and disbursed; (4.) that a chest be provided with two different locks, one key being kept by a freeman mason elected annually by the Incorporation, and the other by "one of the journeymen to be elected by themselves;" (5.) that the said freeman attend the meetings, see all is done in order, and report, if need be, to his Incorporation; (6.) that the journeymen produce their books and accounts to the deacon of the masons and the Incorporation each half year; and (7.) that five journeymen form a quorum—"their purse keeper for the time being a *sine quâ non*."

The penalty of disobedience by either party was fixed at £100 Scots, and as the Lodge of Edinburgh persistently ignored the award, steps were taken by the plaintiffs to enforce its terms, as well as to obtain their books. The "charge" itself was discovered about thirty years ago by Mr David Laing of the Signet Library, by whom it was presented to Mr Kerr, who very properly deposited it in the charter-box of the Lodge No. 8. Singular to state, nothing is known at the present time of the result of the application; the records of the parent lodge, whilst they contain a minute of its decision to contest the claim, are silent as to the ultimate result; but they record what is of more consequence, viz., the rescinding of the obnoxious resolutions, that the journeymen were readmitted "upon certain conditiones mentioned in a paper apart signed and approven of both masters and jurnaymen" (so they must have concocted another agreement), and that Deacon Watson was actually re-elected in 1719 to his former position in the old Lodge and Incorporation. Little difficulties, however, again cropped up affecting the independence of the "Journeymen" Lodge, but eventually, as Lyon well observes, lodges and incorporations parted company, free trade in mason-making became popular, and the bone of contention that had long existed between the Lodge of Edinburgh and its youngest daughter¹ having thus been removed, the Journeymen Lodge was left in full and undisturbed possession of its privileges.

"LODGE OF DUNBLANE," NO. 9.

The existing minutes begin in January 1696,² and, strange to say, neither then, nor later, contain any "marks" (or references thereto), in which respect they differ from the generality of old masonic records. John Cameron of Lochiel was a member of the lodge in 1696. He served with the Earl of Mar in the Rebellion of 1715, was the husband of

¹ May we not term such relationship involuntary maternity, just as in the case of the Lodge "Canongate and Leith?"

² There is a jotting on one of the fly-leaves of the oldest minute-book of the Lodge Dunblane St John, of payments made to its funds in April 1675.

Isabel Campell (sister of Sir Duncan Campell, one of the four initiates of Dr Desaguliers, in 1721, at Edinburgh), his eldest son, Donald, being one of the most celebrated and influential chiefs who joined Prince Charles Edward Stuart, and who was the first to obtain possession of Edinburgh on its investment by the Highlanders in 1745. In fact, the majority of the brethren were not only "speculatives," but several were noted Jacobites. Lord Strathalane (master, 1696), Lord John Drummond, brother of the Duke of Perth (initiated March 13, 1740, and master in 1743-45), and other leading members of the lodge, were prominent actors on the Stuart side in the Risings of 1715 and 1745; but, as if to prove the unpolitical character of the society, their disaffection was counterbalanced by the strong partisanship on behalf of the House of Hanover manifested in other masonic lodges.

Lyon furnishes transcripts of several of the old records, the first in order, dated January 28, 1696, being of unusual length. In the list of members present are to be found several gentlemen, the *operative masons being in the minority*. There cannot be a doubt that this assembly was not the first of its kind, for the text of the earliest preserved record entirely dissipates any such illusion; and why the lodge should be accorded precedence only from the year 1709 on the official roll, I cannot understand. The business transacted in 1696 partook of the nature of a masonic "court" (as it was termed), and was certainly of a representative character. The meeting was called "The Lodge of Meassones in Dunblane," Lord Strathalane (the second viscount) being entitled "master meassone;" Alexander Drummond of Balhadie, warden, an "eldest fellow of craft," was also appointed; and a "deput" (deputy), a clerk, a treasurer, an officer, and a "Pro. Fiscall." These constituted the court, with other members also named. Each workman on his "entry" was required to pay £6, and half that sum on his "passing," in addition to the ordinary dues. It was likewise agreed that no one present, or any one who joined subsequently, should divulge any of the acts passed by the court to any person whatsoever who was not a member of the lodge, save the two rules as to entry and passing, "*under the breach of breaking of their oath.*" As many of the laws passed at this meeting, and others in 1696 and later, relate to the craft in its operative character, I need not cite them, but shall proceed to notice any points of special interest. Commissions were issued by "Dunblane" to authorise the entry elsewhere than in the lodge, "of gentlemen or other persons of entire credit and reputation living at a distance from the town," provided that the holders thereof obtain the co-operation "of such members of this lodge as can be conveniently got, or, in case of necessity, *to borrow from another lodge* as many as shall make a quorum." It was the custom for such as were entered in this fashion to be "passed" in the lodge; but by an enactment of the court in September 1716, which prohibited the entry and passing "at one and the same tyme," exception was made in favour of "gentlemen who cannot be present at a second diet." The minutes record the presentation of aprons and gloves to three speculative intrants on January 8, 1724, the lodge itself having been presented with a copy of the "Constitutions of the Freemasons" of A.D. 1723, a little while before. The following is worth giving *in extenso*:— "Dunblane, the twenty-seventh day of December 1720 years. Sederunt: Robert Duthy, deacon; Wm. Wright, warden; Wm. Muschet, eldest fellow of craft. . . . Compeared John Gillespie, writer in Dunblane, who was entered on the 24 instant, and after examination was duly passt from the *Square to the Compass*, and from an Entered Prentice to a Fellow of Craft of this Lodge, who present as said, is bound, obliged, and enacted himself to stand by,

obey, and obtemper, and subject himself unto the heall acts and ordinances of this Lodge and Company."¹ After due "examination," another apprentice was similarly passed on November 28, 1721; and on September 6, 1723, it is certified that others gave "satisfieing answers of their knowledge" prior to receiving the promotion solicited. A remarkable entry occurs, of date December 27, 1729. Two apprentices (one being a merchant in Dunblane) applied, from the Lodge of Kilwinning, to be "entered" as apprentices in the lodge, and then "passed" as fellow-crafts. James Muschet was instructed "to examine them as to their qualifications and knowledge, and having reported to the lodge that they had a competent knowledge of the *secrets of the mason word*," their petitions were duly attended to. It will be noticed that the minutes speak of the "secrets of the mason word," the "Decreet Arbitral" of Edinburgh alluding only to the "mason word." That the esoteric ceremony or ceremonies consisted of *secrets* is testified by the records of two lodges—Dunblane and Haughfoot—which are more explicit than those of Nos. 1 and 8. The Lodge of Dunblane did not join the Grand Lodge until 1760-61, therefore its proceedings are the more valuable, because they were uninfluenced by modern organisations. As with the minutes of certain other old lodges, those of Dunblane contain numerous references to the appointment of "intenders," or instructors, for the intrants. An enactment relating thereto is on the books of the Lodge of Edinburgh so late as 1714, the duties of such an officer being defined in 1725 by the lodge at Dunblane to consist of "the perfecting of apprentices, so that they might be fitt for their future tryalls." In the Lodge of Peebles, "intenders" were selected at times for such a purpose, extending over a century and a half, a similar officer being known at Aberdeen so early as 1670.

"TORPHICHEN KILWINNING" LODGE, BATHGATE, NO. 13.

I pass over three lodges, ranging from 1724 to 1728, to introduce one which, whilst it dates only from the latter year officially, existed, according to Hughan, many years earlier. On December 12, 1728, twelve fellow-crafts and seven "Enter Prentices" petitioned Mother Lodge Kilwinning for a constitution, and based their request upon the fact that they held their rights and privileges from that ancient society. The application was made on behalf of the nineteen members who signed the petition and also "absent brethren." The privileges solicited were granted May 15, 1729; but on the lodge deciding to join the Grand Lodge in 1737, the members again applied for the recognition of Kilwinning,² on the ground of their having once accepted "a charter of erection, of a very ancient date," from that source. The year in which this warrant was originally issued is nowhere recorded, but Kilwinning Lodge agreed on March 30, 1737, that "their former ancient charter be corroborated," and the request of the brethren be granted.

"PEEBLES KILWINNING" LODGE, NO. 24.

There are not a few old lodges which appear with modern dates attached to them in the official roll, of which No. 17, Linlithgow, is an example, for I have already quoted an extract from the records of No. 1, which refer to that lodge as early as 1653, yet it is placed as No. 17, and dated 1736. Peebles is another instance of chronological and numerical anomalies, ranking as it does from A.D. 1736, though at work in 1716. The lodge, from 1716 to the end

¹ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 416.

² Freemasons' Magazine, August 29, 1863.

of last century, regularly observed the custom of holding an annual trial of the apprentices and fellow-crafts. In 1726 an inventory of its property was made in the minute-book, consisting of "Ane Bible, the Constitutions¹ of the haill Lodges in London, the Square, and a piece of small tow." Next year the entry reads "Square, tow, and compass." Some of the marks registered by its members are of an exceptional character, that of a captain of the King's Foot Guards being "a V-shaped shield, bearing on each half a small cross, the whole being surmounted by a cross of a larger size. Amongst other varieties are a slater's hammer and a leather cutter's knife; whilst later on (1745), the mark "taken out" by a wigmaker was "a human head with a wig and an ample beard!"² At the opening ceremony the members engaged in prayer, and the brethren were sworn to refrain from undue partiality in the consideration of the business, which, Lyon tells us, was called "*Fencing the Lodge*," and was so observed at Peebles for very many years. From its origin in 1716, the lodge was speculative in part, and observed many ancient customs long after they had disappeared from other lodges, such as the foregoing, the appointment of instructors (*intenders*), and the annual testing of apprentices and fellows. The third degree is not alluded to in its first volume of records, which end in 1764, Kilwinning being added to its name in 1750.

The original record of October 18, 1716, is peculiar, for it is an intimation of the lodge being self-constituted by "*a sufficient number of Brethren in this Burgh*," in order to repair the loss they sustained "*by the want of a Lodge*." The record is signed by twelve members, who also attach their marks, and during the meeting a deacon, warden, and other officers were regularly elected. The Festival of St John the Evangelist was annually celebrated by the lodge, on which day the annual subscriptions were payable, and the officers elected.

John Wood, merchant, having been "*gravely and decently entered a member of the said Lodge*" on St John's Day, 1717, "*any complement to be given being referr'd to himself*," which was, I presume, a delicate way of saying that they, as members, did not wish to decide the amount of his gift, but left the matter in his own hands.

On December 19, 1718, Mr John Douglass, brother-german to the Right Hon. the Earl of March, and Captain Weir, were received and admitted members, and each chose their two "Intenders" and their marks, paying a guinea and half a guinea respectively to the Box, whereupon the "*honourable society having received ane handsome treat*," also did its part to enhance the feast, "*being that which was due to their careter*."

David White, on January 13, 1725, was charged with a breach of the laws, in that he threatened to "*enter*" some persons in a certain parish, and to set up a lodge there. He was found guilty, and "*ordained to beg God and the honourable company pardon, and promise not to doe the like in time coming, which he accordingly did*." On December 27, 1726, the members finding that the annual subscription of one shilling each, payable by the brethren who were not workmen, was considered excessive, agreed "*to restrict in all time coming the sd shilling to eightpence*."

Mr Robert Sanderson has compiled an excellent sketch of the records from 1716, some of which originally appeared in the *Scottish Freemason*, but subsequently the chief excerpts were given in the *Masonic Magazine*,³ many of the more curious marks being reproduced. In

¹ Presented by the Provost of Peebles (a member of the lodge) on December 27, 1725, who was heartily thanked for so acceptable a gift. Several old lodges in Scotland had copies of the Constitutions of 1723, soon after their publication.

² Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, p. 68.

³ December 1878, February 1879, and 1880-82.

those days the *delta* was not a prohibited mark, as in these modern times. The collection of these old marks scattered over so many volumes of ancient records, many being really good geometrical figures, would provide an excellent assortment for the registrars of mark lodges, and of themselves prove the absurdity of limiting the choice of such appendages to any set number of lines or points.

“LODGE OF ABERDEEN,” No. 34.

The eventful history of the ancient Lodge of Aberdeen deserves a volume to itself, hence a sketch of its chief characteristics is all I can now undertake, and under present circumstances is really all that can be accomplished, as its complete history, in anything like the fulness of that of the “Lodge of Edinburgh,” has yet to be written. The materials before me, from which I have to compile a brief account of this very ancient lodge, consist mainly of the “Burgh Records,”¹ Hughan’s series of articles in the “Voice of Masonry,”² and chapter xliv. of Lyon’s excellent history.³ Furthermore, Mr Hughan has kindly placed at my service all the facts he has since collected, many of which have never been made public, and were obtained from time to time through Mr John Jamieson of Aberdeen, a respected past-master of the lodge, who had special facilities for an examination of its old minute books, and is a most accurate and diligent transcriber of ancient documents.

The original formation of a lodge at Aberdeen ranges back into the mists of antiquity, and wholly eludes the research of the historian. The editor of the work first mentioned states that the records of the burgh of Aberdeen present us with a greater combination of materials for a national history—glimpses of the actual social position of the people, as seen in a system of jurisprudence in legal pleadings, as exhibited in various professions and trades, pageants, and sports, and styles of manner and dress—than is generally to be found in similar sources. Their historical importance has long been acknowledged by those who have had access to them. They comprehend the proceedings of the Council, and of the Baillie and the Guild Courts from 1398, when the first volume commences, to 1745, being the period comprised in the selections printed for the Clnb.⁴ The records extend to sixty-one folio volumes, containing on an average about 600 pages each, and, with the exception of the years from 1414 to 1433, there is no *hiatus* in the series.

The first volume (1399) contains an account of an early contract between the “comownys of Ab’den” on the one part, and two “masonys” on the other part, which was agreed to on the Feast of St Michael the Archangel. The work contracted for was to *hew* “xii durris and xii wyndowys, in fre tailly,” and the work was to be delivered in good order at any quay in Aberdeen.

On June 27, 1483, it is noted that the “master of the kirk wark,” appointed, decreed, and ordained that the “masownys of the luge,” consisting of six members, whose names are duly recorded, were to pay 20s. and 40s. to the Parish Church (“Saint Nicholace Wark”) for the first and second offences respectively, in the event of either of them raising any debate or controversy, for it appears that previously there had been disputes in consequence of their so

¹ Publications of the Spalding Club (Extracts from the Registers of the Burgh of Aberdeen), vol. v., pp. 26, 41, 52, 68, 141, 290.

² Voice of Masonry, U.S.A., 1872-74 (Early History of British Freemasonry).

³ History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 407-427.

⁴ The Spalding Club was instituted in 1839.

doing. It was also provided that "gif thai fautit the thrid (*third*) tym," they were "to be excludit out of the luge as a common forfactour." It seems to have been a common practice from that day to this to give two warnings, and to inflict as many (though increasing) fines, preparatory to the exclusion which was to follow the third offence, and in this case, what may be termed a "by-law" is certified to have been agreed to by the members concerned, and approved by the aldermen and Council, the masons being "obliged" to obedience "be the faith of thare bodiis."

Two of the number were particularly specified as offenders, and were cautioned that, should either of them break the rule they had agreed to, "he that beis fundyn in the faute thairof salbe expellit the luge fra that tyme furth."

In 1493 (November 15) three masons were hired for a year by the Aldermen and Council, to "abide in thar service, batht in the *luge* and vtencle, and pass to Cowe,¹ thar to hewe and wirk one thar aone expensis, for the stuf and bigyne of thar kirk werke, and thai haue sworne the gret bodey aithe to do thar saide seruice and werk for this yer, for the quhilikis thai sal pay to ilk ane of the said masonis xx merkis vsuale money of Scotland alarnelie, but al accidents of trede." One of the three masons bore the name of Mathou Wright, who was also mentioned in the decree of 1483, and probably was the same who is referred to (November 22, 1498) as agreeing, "be his hand ophaldin,² to make gude seruice in the luge"—"the said day" (it is also noted) "that Nichol Masone and Davuid Wright oblist thame be the fathis of thar bodiis, the gret aithe sworne, to remane at Sanct Nicholes werk in the luge . . . to be leile trew in all pontis," etc. The foregoing furnish early instances of the use of the word *Lodge* (Luge), and assuredly the context in each case—by the penalty of exclusion—suggests that something more was meant than a mere hut or covered building. Even in the fifteenth century, at Aberdeen, it would appear that the Lodge was essentially a private building, and strictly devoted to the purposes of masonry.³ To work in a lodge was the privilege of *free* masons, cowans and disobedient members being excluded; and as it was a covered building, *tyled* or *healed*, a very early use of the words *Tyler* and *Heal* (or *Hele*)⁴ in British Freemasonry is here apparent.

On February 1, 1484, it was ordered that "Craftsmen" bear their "tokens"⁵ on their breasts on Candlemas Day, and on January 23, 1496, that every craft have its standard. The latter were carried when any procession took place. On May 22, 1531, it was ordained by the

¹ There was an old castle and church at *Covrie*, fourteen miles south of Aberdeen. It was a "Thanedom," and at one time belonged to the Bruce. This, as Mr Officer (one of the leading masons in the Scottish metropolis) has suggested to me, is probably the spot referred to in the agreement of 1493. The Rev. A. T. Grant, however, identifies it with *Cove*, a fishing village four miles from Aberdeen.

² It will doubtless occur to those conversant with the form of taking the oath in Scottish Courts of law, that the right hand is still *uphelden*, as of yore.

³ *Ante*, p. 303. The Burgh Records of Aberdeen mention the "keiping of the Glass in vindokis of thair kirk, and the sklattis of thair luge," A.D. 1547 (Publications of the Spalding Club, vol. v., p. 249).

⁴ From the Anglo-Saxon, *hilan*, to conceal, to cover, or to close up. The oath imposed at Reading, *temp. Henry VI.*, at the admission of a burgess, was to this effect: "The comyn counsell of this said gilde, and felishipp of the same, that shall ye heele and secret kepe, and to no p'sone publicle, shew, ne declare, except it be to a burgess . . . All these things shall ye observe, and truly kepe in all *poynts* to y' power, so help you God, and holy done, and by this boke" (Rev. C. Coates, History and Antiquity of Reading, 1802, vol. ii., p. 57). In the last will and testament of Thomas Cumherworth occurs the following: "I wyll that my body ly still, my mouth open, *unhild* xxiii orwys" (Harleian MSS., 6952). Cf. Smith, English Gilds, pp. 356, 398; and *ante*, p. 377, note 1.

⁵ Publications of the Spalding Club, vol. v., pp. 290, 413, 450; and see chap. vii., *ante*, p. 366.

Provost and Council that, in "honour of God and the blessit Virgin Marye, the craftsmen, in thair best array, keep and decoir the processiouon on Corpus Cristi dais, and Candilmes day, every craft with thair awin banner, with the armes of thair craft thairin . . . last of all, nearest the Sacrament, passis all hammermen, *that is to say*, smythis, wrichtis, masonis, cuparis, sclateris, goldsmythis and armouraris."

A visitor was chosen every year by each of the crafts, according to the rule of October 4, 1555, who was required to be sworn before the "Provest and Baillies in judgement," his duty being to see that all the statutes and ordinances were faithfully kept, and particularly that "thair be na craftsman maid *fre man* to vse his craft except he haf seruit as prentise under ane maister thre yeiris, and be found sufficien^t and qualifeit in his craft to be ane maister." I quote this regulation, not by way of illustrating the discrepant terms of apprenticeship which prevailed, notwithstanding the precision with which uniformity of usage was enjoined by the ordinances, but to emphasise the *fact*—for such it must be designated—that the prefix *free* was generally applied to those Scottish craftsmen who were *free* to exercise their trades, by virtue of due service and qualification, hence *free mason*, and, as I shall have occasion to note elsewhere, *free sewer*, *free carpenter*,¹ and the like.

"The first cathedral church of Aberdeen," says Mr Jamieson, "stood for only about 200 years, and was demolished by Bishop Alexander, the second of that name—he deeming it too small for a cathedral—to make room for the present edifice, which he is said to have founded in 1357. Now, whatever of truth may have been in the early tradition of the craft, it is evident the present building was erected by Freemasons, from the mason marks found on it from the foundation upwards, just such marks as were common among the fraternity; masons marks have also been found on Greyfriars' Church, founded in 1471, and in King's College and Chapel, founded in 1494; likewise on the Bridge of Dee, begun in 1505 and finished in 1527."² So far this writer; but if the existence of marks is to be taken in every instance as affording conclusive evidence of a contemporaneous freemasonry, the antiquity of our venerable Society would be at once cast back much farther than historical research could attempt to follow it. The tradition he alludes to is, that a mason named Scott, with several assistants from Kelso, was employed by Matthew Kininmonth, Bishop of Aberdeen, in building St Machar's Cathedral about 1165, and that, by Scott and his associates, the Aberdeen Lodge was founded. Without doubt the fact that the Lodge of Aberdeen existed at a very early date, can be verified without recourse to the traditions of the craft, too many of which unfortunately are altogether trustless. The references in the fifteenth century to the lodge in that city, of themselves, abundantly prove, that at the period in question the masons assembled in a lodge, and apparently not always for strictly operative purposes, though doubtless the main object of a lodge being built was to secure privacy for those engaged in fashioning the stones for the kirk and other structures. It is now impossible to prove the identity of the ancient Lodge of Aberdeen with that described in the Burgh Records of 1483, though for my own part I see no reason

¹ "That nae maner of person occupy nor use any points of our said crafts of surgery, or barber craft, within this brugh, but gif he be first *frie-man*, and burgess of the saman. . . . Every master that is received *frie-man* to the saids crafts, shall pay his onlyk penny, with the priest's myte"—*vide* Seal of Cause of Chirurgeons, A.D. 1505 (History of the Blue Blanket, or Craftsmen's Banner, Edinburgh, 1832, pp. 62, 64). In 1583 it was decreed, "That na manner of person be sufferit to use merchandise, or occupy the handie wark of ane *free* crafts-man within this brugh, . . . without he be burgess and *free-man* of the same" (*Ibid.*, p. 112).

² Aberdeenshire Masonic Reporter, 1879, p. 16.

to doubt the probability of their being one and the same. In early days there does not seem to have been more than a single lodge in each town or city—which had a monopoly of the rights and privileges pertaining to the trade—until secessions gradually led to the formation of a rival sodality, as at Edinburgh in the seventeenth century.

The Seal of Cause of the masons and wrights was confirmed on May 6, 1541,¹ under the common seal of the burgh, and then included the coopers, carvers, and painters. From this confirmation the brethren in Aberdeen date the institution of their lodge, and the Grand Lodge of Scotland, on granting a warrant to it, November 30, 1743, acknowledged that year as the period of its formation. It was likewise recited on the charter “that their records had by accident been burned, but that since December 26, 1670, they have kept a regular lodge, and authentic records of their proceedings.”² The members may as well claim from 1483 as from 1541, although their lodge is now only officially acknowledged as “*before 1670*,”³ for as an undoubted fact it must have been at work long before the latter year, according to the declaration of its veritable records, which, of those preserved, *commence A.D. 1670*.

Although the lodges in both England and Scotland have been numbered very capriciously, the assignment of the *thirty-fourth* place on the masonic roll of the latter country, to the subject of my present sketch, must strike every one as a patent absurdity. Of its relative antiquity, credentials are not wanting, and, though inferentially, it may date from a far more remote period than is attested by existing documents; yet, even restricting its claims within the limits imposed by the law of 1737⁴—two or three lodges only in all Scotland are entitled to take precedence of it—though several of these bodies, chartered so late as the last century, are above it on the register of the Grand Lodge.

The dignified protest of the Lodge of Aberdeen against what may, with propriety, be termed its comparative effacement, failed to avert the calamity, and, had it not been that the members were more solicitous to preserve and extend brotherly love and concord, than to haggle for precedence, there would have been a rival Grand Lodge formed in the North of Scotland, as well as by “*Kilwinning*” in the South.

Before proceeding to consider the actual records of the lodge, it will be well to note that a grant was made in favour of Patrick Coipland of Udaucht as warden “over all the bonndis of Aberdene, Banff, and Kincarne,” by no less an authority than King James VI. Hughan cites the document in the “*Voice of Masonry*,” and Lyon states that the original is contained in the Privy Seal Book of Scotland. The terms of the grant are singularly interesting and suggestive, for they are to the effect (a) that the Laird of Udaucht possessed the needful qualifications to act as a warden over the “airt and craft of masonrie;” (b) that his predecessors had of old been wardens in like manner; (c) the said Patrick Coipland having been “electit ane chosin to the said office be common consent of the maist pairt of the Master Masonnes within the three Sherrifdomes;” (d) the king graciously ratifies their choice, constitutes Coipland “Wardane and Justice ovir them for all the dayes of his lyif;” and (e),

¹ Seal of Cause, 1541; *Voice of Masonry*, June 1873. The deacons were required to examine candidates for the freedom of their craft, no one being allowed the privileges of a freeman until duly admitted and acknowledged as such.

² Laws of the Aberdeen Lodge, 1853, Appendix II.

³ Constitutions, 1881, p. 121.

⁴ “In the course of this year it was resolved that all the lodges which held of the Grand Lodge of Scotland should be enrolled according to their seniorities; that this should be determined from the authentic documents which they produced; and that those who produced no vouchers should be put at the end of the roll” (Lawrie’s History of Freemasonry, 1804, p. 152).

empowers him to act like any other warden elsewhere, receiving all fees, etc., holding courts, appointing clerks and other needful officers, etc. The grant is dated September 25, 1590, and is certainly a remarkable instrument. According to Lawrie it proves "beyond dispute that the kings nominated the office-bearers of the Order," but I quite agree with Lyon that it does no such thing. The appointment was simply a civil one, as with the St Clairs, and of itself is quite sufficient to demonstrate that the hereditary Grand Mastership declared to be centred in the latter is a myth. If the office of Grand Master for all Scotland had been held by the St Clair family (putting on one side the question whether the younger branch could or could not claim this hereditary privilege), clearly Coipland's appointment would never have been made by the king, neither would the masons of Edinburgh, Perth, and other cities have allowed it to pass *sub silentio*.

That the semi-hereditary office of warden for the counties named was lawfully held by succession in the case of Coipland, subject to the consent in part of the master masons and ratification by the king, completely sets aside Lawrie's claim on behalf of the St Clairs, as Hughan fully demonstrated in the history referred to. It is a subject for regret, however, that the grant of 1590 contains no mention of "Lodges," though, to my mind, it was to settle the various trade disputes connected with the masons—and hence any matters which affected their interests or conduct, *either in or out of lodges*—also to see that the general statutes were obeyed by the particular craft in question—that the Laird of Udaucht was appointed, and empowered to act in a magisterial capacity. Assuming this to have been the case, it would seem probable that the old Aberdeen Lodge—represented by its master masons—was a party to his election, and acknowledged him as its warden by royal authority. Such an appointment, however, was of a purely local character, being confined to the districts named, other wardens doubtless acting in a similar capacity for the other counties, and superior to all these was the *General Warden*, William Schaw.¹

In subsequent years the operatives whose proceedings it was the function of this high official to regulate and control, appear to have considered it only right and proper that they should have a hand in his appointment. The Acts of the Scottish Parliament, under the year 1641, contain "the humble remonstrance of all the Artificers of the Kingdome, who 'in one voyce' doe supplicate his Majestie and the Estates of Parliament, least men incapable of the charge of Mr of Work may attaine to that: therefore it may be enacted that none shall ever bruik or be admitted to that place of Mr of Work, but such as shalbe recommended to his Majestie as sufficiently qualified, by the whole Wardens and Deacons of the Masons, Wrights, and others chosen by them, assembled for that purpose by the Parliament and Priue Councell when the place of Mr of Work shall happen to be vacant."²

This petition or "remonstrance" would appear to have been dictated by the apprehension

¹ The Constitutions of 1848 (Grand Lodge of Scotland) contain a biography of this high masonic official. He was born in 1550, and seems to have been early connected with the royal household, as his name is attached to the original parchment deed of the National Covenant of 1580-81. In 1583 Schaw succeeded Sir Robert Drummond as Master of Work, and hence all the royal buildings and palaces were under his care and superintendence. In the treasurer's accounts various sums are entered as being paid to him for such services. He died in April 1602, and was buried in the Abbey Church of Dunfermline, Queen Anna erecting a handsome monument to his memory. It was, however, as *General Warden*, and not as Master of Work, that he exercised authority over the masons. He may have been an honorary member of the fraternity, and doubtless was, but of that we know nothing.

² Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. v., p. 706a. The result of this petition does not appear.

that some unfit person would be designated to the charge of the king's works, and the petitioners lay great stress on the importance of the "Wisdome, Authoritie, and Qualities" of this high officer, "being such, as may make him deserue to be Generall Wardene of the whole artificers of buildings, as worthy men haue euer formerly bene." Whether any answer was returned to this remonstrance does not appear, and the only further allusion to the office of which it sought the nomination, I find in volume vi. of the Scottish Statutes, under the year 1645, where there is a "ratification by Sir John Veitch of Daruall, in favour of Daniel Carmichael of the office of master of work, and general warden of the king's tradesmen."¹

I shall now proceed with an examination of the veritable records of the lodge, which, as before observed, date from 1670. The book in which the traditions, laws, and transactions are entered, measures about 12 inches by 8, each leaf having a double border of ruled lines at the top and sides, the writing being on one side of the page only, and the volume originally consisted of about one hundred and sixty pages. According to a minute of February 2, 1748, Peter Reid, the box-master, was ordered to have the precious tome rebound, as it was being injured by the iron clasps which confined its leaves. Whatever special talents Reid may have possessed, neither book-making nor book-binding was amongst the number, for instead of having more pages inserted, as he was instructed to do, he had all removed save about thirty, and even these are somewhat singularly arranged. There is much, however, to be thankful for, as the "Lawes and Statutes" of 1670 remain intact, if not undisturbed; also the "Measson Charter," the general laws, the roll of members and apprentices, and the register of their successors, etc. Many of these documents possess features exclusively their own, whilst some are unsurpassed by any others of a similar character in interest and value. This, the first volume of the records, which has been preserved, is, and has long been, known as the "*Mark Book*," doubtless because the mark of each member and apprentice is attached to the register of the names, the book possibly having been intended for that purpose only. The old seal of the lodge is lost, the present one dates from 1762, though in all probability the design of the former reappeared in the latter. The 1762 seal does duty as a frontispiece to the lodge by-laws of 1853. It is divided into four quarters, in the *first* are three castles, in the *second*, the square and compasses with the letter G in the centre; in the *third*, four working tools, viz., the level, plumb-rule, trowel, and gavel; and in the *fourth*, the sun, moon, and ladder of six staves;—the whole being surmounted by the motto: *Commissum tege et vino tortus et ira*.² An edition of the rules was printed in either 1680 or 1682, but no copy can now be traced, which is much to be regretted, as it is very possible that a history of the lodge may have been bound up with these regulations, which, compiled at so early a date, would be of great value to the student of masonic history. Though the search for this missing record has hitherto proved abortive, it is nevertheless to be hoped that it will be proceeded with, and that the living representatives of former members may be induced to carefully examine all books, papers, and bundles of documents, among which such a copy of by-laws might possibly have become entombed.

The "Lawes and Statutes ordained be the honourable Lodge of Aberdeen, December 27, 1670," claim our next consideration. They consist of eight rules or enactments duly numbered,

¹ Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. vi., pt. i., p. 426.

² "Commissum tege et vino tortus et ira" (Hor., Ep. i. 18, 38):—

"Let none thy secret trust divine,

Though racked with wrath or dazed with wine."

several being of unusual length. A careful scrutiny reveals the fact that they are original and independent regulations, agreed to by the members, and compiled to meet the wants of the lodge without uniformly respecting either the ancient ordinances or the "Measson Charter." They differ singularly, and at times materially, from all other laws of the period, and will be found to present a vivid picture of some of the customs of the fraternity, absolutely unique in expression and most suggestive in character.

THE LAWS AND STATUTES OF THE LODGE OF ABERDEEN, A.D. 1670.¹

"FIRST STATUTE—ARTICLE FOR THE MAISTER."—The master masons and "Entered Prentises" who are subscribers to the book, vow and agree to own the lodge on all occasions—unless prevented by sickness or absence—as they did at their entry, and on receiving the "Mason Word."

"SECOND STATUTE—MAISTER CONTINUED."—The master to act as judge in all disputes, to inflict fines, pardon faults, "always taking the voice of the honourable company,"² and he may instruct his officer to impound the working tools of malcontents,³ who, if they are further rebellious, shall be expelled from the lodge.

"THIRD STATUTE—WARDENS."—By the oath at entry, the warden is acknowledged "as the next in power to the Maister,"⁴ and in the absence of the latter he is to possess similar authority and to continue in office according to the will of the company. The master is to be annually elected on each St John's Day, also the box-master and clerk, no salary being allowed the latter, it being "only a piece of preferment." The *officer* to be continued till another be entered in the lodge.⁵ No lodge was to be held within an inhabited dwelling-house, save in "ill weather," then only in such a building where "no person shall hear or see us." Otherwise the meetings were to take place "in the open fields."⁶

"FOURTH STATUTE—BOX FOR OUR POOR," ETC.—Of this lengthy regulation I shall present no abstract, as it will be best understood by a perusal of the fuller text. From its tenor I am inclined to believe that in 1670 there was a reorganisation of the lodge, the meetings for many years previously, owing to the unsettled condition of the country, having only been held at rare intervals. It is said that the masons of Aberdeen had a tent which was erected (on the occasion of an initiation) in the hollow at Cunnigar Hill, at Carden Howe, or at the "Stonnies," in the hollow at the Bay of Nigg, sites offering peculiar facilities for such assemblies. The members to whom I shall refer farther on, describe themselves as the authors of the "Measson Box"—a charitable scheme emanating from themselves—and in the furtherance of which they not only pledged their own support, but also that of their successors. Several of the clauses are worthy of modern imitation, though at the present time we may fail to appreciate

¹ Published by Mr Buchan (from a transcript by Mr Jamieson) in the "Freemason," August 12, and September 2, 1871; by Hughan, in the "Voice of Masonry," February 1872; by Lyon, in his "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh," 1873; and in the "Masonic News," Glasgow, 1873,—all from the "Jamieson" text.

² It will be noted that no superior *masonic* authority is acknowledged, the master at that time evidently being the highest masonic official recognised by the lodge.

³ "To poynd his work loomes."

⁴ Precisely as in modern times.

⁵ Doubtless the *youngest apprentice*, in consonance with the usage of some other lodges.

⁶ This regulation accords with the old tradition that lodges assembled on the "highest hills or in the lowest valleys," and, moreover, is indicative of esoteric practices as free-masons at the reception of apprentices in their "*outfield lodge*" (See Statute V.).

the rule which permitted money to be taken from the treasury “*to give a treat to any nobleman or gentleman that is a measson*,” considering that the funds were to be devoted to the sacred purposes of charity.

“**FIFTH STATUTE—ENTERED PRENTESSES.**”—Each apprentice was required to pay four rix dollars at his admission, and to present every member¹ of the lodge with a linen apron and a pair of gloves; though if his means were insufficient to *clothe the lodge*—as this custom continued to be called for nearly a century later—a money payment was substituted for one in kind, and two *additional* dollars, with a dinner, and some wine, sufficed for his contribution, exclusive of one mark piece for his mason mark,² and another to the convener (*officer*) of the lodge. A dinner and pint of wine also commemorated his attainment of the fellowship, though a stranger “entered” in another lodge, being desirous of becoming a master mason at Aberdeen, was to pay two dollars, accompanied by the invariable pint of wine, or more, should the company will it, but the benefit of this last proviso was limited to *gentlemen masons*. Persons duly apprenticed to the *handicraft* were to pay fifty marks at their entry, and the customary dues, and if unable to provide the money, they were to serve their masters for three years without remuneration, and could not receive the fellowship earlier. The funds so obtained were to be divided equally between the box and the entertainment of the members. The eldest sons of the “authoires of the Book” (and all their successors) were to have the benefit of the mason word, free of all dues, save those for the box, the mark, the dinner, and the indispensable “pint of wine.” Similar privileges were to devolve upon those who married the eldest daughters of the brethren.³ Apprentices were to be entered in the “antient outfield Lodge, in the mearns in the Parish of Negg, at the stonnie at the poynt of the Ness.”

“**SIXTH STATUTE—FOR THE BOX MAISTER.**”—The sums received by this official were not to be retained by him, but placed in the box, the oversight thereof being in the hands of the three masters of the keys.

“**SEVENTH STATUTE—ST JOHNE'S DAY.**”—All apprentices and fellow-crafts were required to pay twelve shillings Scots to the master mason or his warden at each St John's Day, and in default their tools were to be seized and kept in pledge until redeemed. The St John's Day was to be observed as a day of rejoicing and feasting; and the subscriptions were devoted to that purpose according to the votes of those present, absentees being fined. The rules were to be read at the entry of each apprentice, “that none declare ignorance.”

“**SECOND PART—INTENDER.**”⁴—Apprentices were to be taught by their “Intenders” only, until “given over” as being instructed; and when interrogated at “public meetings,” were to pay for forgetfulness “as the company thinks fit,” except they could prove that they were “never taught such a thing,” in which case the penalty was shifted to their “intenders.” All were to love

¹ There were more than fifty members in 1670.

² Hence the saying, “I put down one mark (*merk*) and took up another.”

³ The latest by-laws of the Lodge (1853) provide in the “Table of dues” for the lowest fees being paid by the “*eldest son, or husband of the eldest daughter of a member*;” the intermediate fees by “*the other sons, or those marrying the other daughters of members*;” and the highest, by ordinary applicants, the least being (I am glad to say) in advance of the highest now charged by some lodges in Scotland.

⁴ Also *Intendar* or *Intendent*. The minutes of the Lodge of Dunblane (1725) define the duty of *Intender* to be “*the perfecting of apprentices so that they might be fit for their future tryalls. The appointment of instructors has for a century and a half obtained in the Lodge of Peebles*” (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 18).

one another as brothers born, and each man was to have a good report behind his neighbour's back "*as his oath tyes him*." The Lord's day was to be kept holy, and Sabbath breakers, habitual swearers, unclean persons, and drunkards were to be severely punished.

"EIGHTH STATUTE—THE BOOK."—The master masons and apprentices ordained that the book of laws be kept in the box, securely locked, save when required to be carried to any place where there was an apprentice to be received. After-comers and successors were required to be equally careful, the clerk only being allowed to have access to the volume whilst making entries therein, the three key masters being present at the time. Future members were further commanded by the oath, taken at their entry, not to blot out the names of any of the then subscribers, nor let them decay, but to uphold them for all time as their patrons. The regulation terminates by placing on record an emphatic statement that there was never a poor-box amongst the masons of Aberdeen, within the memory of man, until established by the authors of the book.

These laws conclude with a general clause which amply attests the brotherly feeling prevailing in 1670, and as the subscribers invoked the blessing of God on all their endeavours and those of their successors, we may be justified in supposing that the latter were true to the trust which subsequently devolved upon them. Indeed, it is a matter of notoriety that the example set by the masons of 1670 has been emulated by the brethren of later years, who, in all periods, and notably at the present date, cherish in affectionate remembrance the memories of their worthy predecessors, the originators of the mark book of 1670.

These curious ordinances of a bygone age present some remarkable features, which, as yet, have been very imperfectly considered. We perceive that *upwards of two hundred years ago* "speculative" masonry was known and provided for—gentlemen-masons being required to pay higher fees at entry, and their presence being heartily welcomed at the festivals of the lodge. Examined in connection with the list of members I shall presently exhibit, the existing records of the Lodge of Aberdeen afford conclusive evidence, not only of "speculative" customs, but actually of *speculative ascendancy*, in the year 1670. The power of the master was then even more absolute than it is now, and the duties of the warden corresponded very closely with those peculiar to that position in modern times. The "officer" received a gratuity in those days from initiates, much as many tylers do now, and no more precautions are taken under the modern system to secure privacy than in days of yore. The charitable nature of the fraternity is embodied in the rules for the "Poor-Box," which article of furniture is not neglected in our own ceremonies, and during the last century, not to say later, the candidates had often to provide a treat at their admission; the regulations, also, for the annual festivals were, at both periods, somewhat alike in character.

The "Intenders" are now represented by the proposers or introducers of candidates, who are supposed to see that the latter are duly qualified to pass in their "Essays" or "questions" prior to promotion; and the careful preservation of the minute-books and other effects of modern lodges is happily not lost sight of.

The allusion, in the fifth statute or clause, to the practice of making strangers "Master Masons" will not fail to arrest attention. Yet it should be distinctly understood that the *title* or *grade* of "Master Mason" was then unaccompanied by any secret mode of reception, such as, in modern parlance, would be styled a *degree*. By the expression "Master Mason," was signified,

in those days, a duly passed apprentice who was competent to undertake work on his own account, and a gentleman (or *geometric*) mason, upon whom the title was bestowed in an honorary or complimentary sense. There were but two classes noted in the rules of 1670, viz., master masons and apprentices, the former being sometimes described as fellow-crafts, *i.e.*, those who had served their lawful time as apprentices. Throughout the entire series of records of the Scottish Lodges, of an earlier date than the eighteenth century, there is not a single reference to any separate ceremony on the making or acknowledging of master masons, whilst, on the contrary, there are several entries which strengthen the belief that this title simply denoted promotion or dignity, and that it could not have implied a participation in a secret knowledge, with which, if we are guided by the evidence—no Scottish mason of that period was ever conversant. I am aware that, by some leading members of the fraternity, it is contended that the *fact* of many lodge records being silent as to the exact date when the *three* existing degree were introduced or practised, furnishes, negatively at least, *some* evidence that they were worked prior to the formation of grand lodges in England and Scotland; this view, resting, it would seem, upon a *supposition* that, had not ceremonies akin to the present ones been in vogue in those early days, the occasions upon which the *innovations* first took place, could not fail to have been recorded by some scrupulous clerk of one or more of the old lodges whose minutes have come down to us. Now, what does such an argument amount to? Are we to assume from the *uniform silence* of all ancient masonic records with regard to the three degrees, that these were worked or wrought under an impenetrable veil of secrecy, behind which their very existence lay concealed? By a similar process of reasoning it would be quite easy to establish the *antiquity* of all those degrees *known* to be of modern construction, such as the Royal Arch, the Masonic Knights Templars, and others too numerous to mention;¹ though it would be necessary to reject the testimony of the actual minutes of these old lodges, which clearly demonstrates the impossibility of there being a separate and secret ceremony at the admission of a Master.

It is satisfactory to find, in a point of so much importance, that the opinions of experts mainly incline in the same direction towards which we are led by the evidence. Hughan and Lyon, both authors of repute and diligent students of masonic records, whose familiar acquaintance with the details of lodge history is unsurpassed, concur in the belief that there were no masonic degrees (as we now understand them) known to the early members of the fraternity,—the *separate* ceremonies or modes of reception, incidental to the more modern system, having (they contend) been *introduced* by those members of the society who, in 1716-17, founded the premier Grand Lodge of the World.² Hughan emphatically states that “no

¹ I need not multiply such instances, but one occurs to me that can easily be tested. Some of the old minute-books of the last century never once allude to a Grand Lodge or to masonic degrees. Are we then to conclude, that the lodges whose proceedings they record, were subordinate to a Grand Lodge, because the latter is nowhere referred to—which is about the same as believing in *three* degrees, from the circumstance that their existence is never even remotely hinted at? If we do, the error is easily proved, because they never joined a Grand Lodge at all.

² Findel observes: “There was but one degree of initiation in the year 1717; the degrees or grades of apprentice, fellow, and master, were introduced about the year 1720” (History of Freemasonry, p. 150). Against this, however, must be arrayed the higher authority of the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, who argues with great ability in support of a tri-gradal system, analogous to, if not identical with, the present arrangement of degrees, having prevailed long before the date which has been arbitrarily assigned (1717) as marking the era of transition from operative to speculative masonry. Mr Woodford’s argument will be fully examined in a later chapter.

records mention the *degree* of a master mason before the second decade of the last century," and Lyon, in the same chapter of his History of Freemasonry¹ where this *dictum* is cited, points out that "the connection which more or less subsisted between the Scottish Lodges and Societies of Incorporated Masons, whose province it was, as by law established, to admit to the privileges of mastership within their several jurisdictions—accounts for the former confining themselves to entering apprentices and passing fellow-crafts. The increase of theoretical craftsmen neutralised operative influence in the Lodge of Edinburgh, and eventually led it to discard its ancient formula, for that which had been concocted by the English speculatives in 1717." "The institution of the third degree," he continues, "was an expansion of this system of Freemasonry." The prescription of the master mason's essay lay with the "Incorporation" as respects Edinburgh, and, according to Lyon, the same rule was observed by other incorporations, these, and not the old lodges, having the power to make or constitute the fellow-crafts as master masons. Now, as these incorporations were composed of many different trades united for purposes of general trade legislation, it follows that there could not have been any esoteric masonic ceremony at the admission of such masters, because the court was of so mixed a character, and not exclusively masonic. Furthermore, the clerks and the brethren generally of these old lodges were not very reticent as to the fact of there being a secret ceremonial at the reception of apprentices, though they were so laudably faithful to their trust that no one can now say precisely of what the secret or secrets consisted. The "masonic word" is frequently mentioned, and, as we have seen, a grip is also alluded to, but only and always in connection with the apprentices. Therefore, as it is evident that the Freemasons of old had no objection to declare publicly that they had a *secret word*, which was entrusted to apprentices on their solemnly swearing not to improperly divulge it—the entire absence of any allusion whatever to *words* or *secrets* imparted at the passing of fellow-crafts or the admission of master masons—is conclusive, to my mind, that no such *degrees*, in the sense we now understand that term, existed. Moreover, apprentices could be present at all meetings of the lodge; and there is no minute of their exclusion on the occasion of a higher degree being conferred, in any of the Scottish records, until after the formation of the Grand Lodge of Scotland (1736).²

Passing from the subject of degrees, to which I shall again revert at greater length, let us continue to examine what the old records *do*, rather than what they *do not*, say. Thus pursuing the inquiry on these lines, I have next to bring before my readers the "Measson Charter," which immediately follows the "Lawes and Statutes" of A.D. 1670. Originally this version of the "Old Charges" was "in the hinder end of the Book;"³ and is numbered eighteen in my list of these old and valuable documents. As already explained, the text presents no features of variety, and the manuscript is chiefly noticeable from the absence of the terminal clauses common to the generality of these documents. The "Mason Charter," as well as the regulations contained in the mark book, were read at the entry of each

¹ History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, chap. xxii., pp. 209, 211.

² Lyon observes: "The minute of November 22, 1759, records the fact that on the brethren 'resolving themselves into a Fellow-craft's Lodge, and then into a Master's Lodge,' the entered apprentices were 'put out,' an act indicative of the formal obliteration of an ancient landmark, and the rupture of one of the few remaining links uniting Operative with Symbolical Masonry" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 76).

³ *Ante*, chap. ii., p. 66.



FRANCIS BURDETT BALFOUR
7TH GRAND MASTER OF MILLIE-ME.

apprentice. At least this practice was rigorously enjoined, though, if strictly carried out, the ceremonial of reception in those days must have been rather a protracted affair, and of very little practical benefit to the parties chiefly concerned, who could have carried away but a faint recollection of the curious traditions and quaint customs which were rehearsed to them.

Attention has already been called to the remarkable fact that all Scottish versions of the "Old Charges" are of English origin.¹ It is difficult to explain such a strange circumstance, but the fact, as I venture to term it, is abundantly confirmed, though in most other respects the Scottish craft was both independent and original—especially in the scope and intent of its laws and customs—until its acceptance of the modern system of Freemasonry in the third or fourth decade of the last century.

Next in order we have the general laws of the crafts in Aberdeen, which are similar in many points to those entered in the minutes of the Lodge of Atcheson-Haven of A.D. 1636. These will be found to confirm the view which has been previously advanced, viz., that the prefix *free*, or in other words the *freedom* of the crafts, constituted their rights to certain privileges, the "*unprivileged companies*" being denied these liberties. They are given in full in the appendices from the transcript made by Mr Jamieson for Mr Hughan, and have, I believe, never before been published *in extenso*.

It will be convenient to next consider the special feature of the Aberdeen records, upon which rests my statement of there having been a *speculative ascendancy* so early as A.D. 1670. Here, perhaps, I may be allowed to explain that the word *speculative* is used by me, when applied to persons, as meaning (1.) a *non-operative*, and (2.) when applied to tools, as referring to moral symbolism drawn from operative implements of labour. In this interpretation there is nothing, I assume, either strained or unusual, but I am anxious that in my review of *speculative* freemasonry in the seventeenth century, there may be no possible misapprehension of the meaning which is attached by me to that expression.

I much regret my inability to present in *facsimile* the remarkable list of members of the Lodge in 1670, being the period, I imagine, of its reconstitution. James Anderson, the clerk (No. 11 on the Register), was by trade a glazier, and styles himself "Mcasson and Wreatter of this Book." The initial letters of the Christian and surnames, especially the former, are rather elaborately sketched, and great care was taken to render the calligraphy worthy of the occasion. Anderson succeeded in this respect, for the list is easily read after a lapse of more than two centuries, the names being very legibly written, and after each, save in two instances, is the *masonic mark*.² The list was intended to exist for ever as an enduring monument of the "authoires of the Book," though no objection appears to have been raised to the practice of supplementing the information contained in the original register by occasional interlineations; these I shall give, with the roll of members, in crotchetts; some are dated, and others not.

¹ *Ante*, p. 90. As this is a point of considerable importance, I take the opportunity of stating that the view expressed in the text is sustained by the opinions of two Masonic writers, who, in the "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh" and in the "Old Charges of British Freemasons" respectively, have established a clear right to speak with authority upon a question which must be mainly decided by referring to the excellent works for which they are responsible.

² For these marks, which have not previously been published, I am indebted to Mr W. J. Hughan.

THE NAMES OF: US: ALL: WHO: ARE: THE AUTHOIRES: OF: AND: SUBSCRYUERS: OF: THIS:
BOOK: IN: ORDER: AS: FOLLOWETH.

1670.

1. HARRIE ELPINGSTON: *Tutor of Airth: Collector of the Kinges Customes of Aberdeen: Measson: and: Master of our Honourable: Lodge of Aberdeen.* 
2. ALEXANDER: CHARLES: *Wright and: Measson: and Master of our Lodge.* 
3. WILLIAM: KEMPT: *Measson.* 
4. JAMES: CROMBIE: *Measson.* 
5. WILLIAM MACKLEUD: *Measson and Warden of: our Lodge.* [William McLeod.] 
6. PATRICK: STEUISON: *Measson.* [Patrick Stevenson.] 
7. JOHN ROLAND: *Measson: and Warden of: our Lodge.* And ye first Warden of our Lodge: [John Ronald.] 
8. DAVID MURRAY: *Measson.* David Murray, Key Master, 1686-7 and 8. [David Murray in 1693 Master.] 
9. JOHN CADDELL: *Measson.* [John Cudell.] 
10. WILLIAM: GEORG: *Smith: and Measson: and Maister: of: our: Lodge.* [W. George.] 
11. JAMES: ANDERSON: *Glassier and Measson: and Wreatter of this Book, 1670.* [And Master of our Lodge in ye year of God 1688 and 1694.] 
12. JOHN: MONTGOMRIE: *Measson: and Warden: of: our: Lodge.* 
13. THE: EARLE: OF: FINDLATOR: *Measson.* 
14. THE: LORD: PITSLIGO: *Measson.* 
15. GEORGE: CATTANEUCH: *Piriuite: Macker: and: Measson.* 
16. JOHN: BARNETT: *Measson.* 
17. MR WILLIAM: FRASSER: *Minister: of: Slaines: and Measson.* 
18. MR GEORG: ALEXANDER: *Aduocat: in: edinburghe: and: Measson.* 
19. ALEXANDER: PATTERSON, *Armourer: and: Measson.* [And m^r of our Lodge in the year of God 1690 + 1692 + 1698.] 
20. ALEXANDER: CHARLES, *Yonger: Glassier: and: Measson.* 
21. JAMES: KING: *Wright: and: Measson: and: Theassurer of our Lodge.* 
22. MAISTER: GEORG: LIDDELL, *Professor of Mathematices.* 
23. MR ALEX^R IRUING: *Measson.* 
24. WALTER: SIMPSON: *Piriuite: Macker: and: Measson.* 
25. WILLIAM: RICKARD: *Merchand & Measson: and Treassurer: of: our: Lody.* 
26. THOMAS: WALKER: *Wright and: Measson.* 
27. JOHN: SKEEN: *Merchand: and: Measson.* 
28. JOHN: CRAURIE: *Merchand: and: Measson.* 
29. WILLIAM: YOUNGSON: *Chyrurgeon and: Measson.* 
30. JOHN: THOMISON: *Chyrurgeon: and Measson.* 
31. EARLE: OF: DUNFERMLINE, *Measson.* [1679.] 
32. EARLE: OF: ERROLLE: *Measson.* 
33. JOHN: GRAY: *Younger: of Chriekie and Measson.* 
34. MR GEORG: SEATTON: *Minister of Fyrie: and Measson.* 
35. GEORG: RAIT: *of: Mideple: Measson.* [1679.] 
36. JOHN FORBES: *Merchand: and: Measson.* 
37. GEORG: GRAY: *Wright: and: Measson.* 
38. JOHN DUGGADE: *Sklaiter: and Measson.* [1677.] 
39. ROBERT: GORDON: *Carde: Macker: and Measson.* 
40. PATRICK: NORRIE: *Merchand: and Measson.* 

41. JAMES : LUMESDEN : *Merchand : and : Measson.* 

42. JOHN : COWIE : *Merchand and Theassurer of our Lodge.* 

43. ALLEXANDER : MOORE : *Hook: Macker : and : Measson.* 

44. DAVID : ACHTERLOUNIE : *Merchand : and : Measson.* 

45. MR GEORG : IRUING : *Measson : and : Preacher.* 

46. PATRICK : MATHEWSON : *Sklaiter : and : Measson.* 
[*Patrick Mathewson.*]

47. JOHN : BURNET : *Measson.* 
[*John Burnet.*]

48. WILLIAM : DONALDSON : *Merchand : and : Measson.* 

49. ALEXANDER : FORBES, *Sklaiter : and : Measson.* 

"So endes y^e names of us all who are the Authoires off this Book and y^e meassonis box in order, according till our ages, as wee wer made fellow craft (from qth wee reckon our age); so wee intreat all our good successores in y^e measson craft to follow our Rule as yo^r patternes and not to stryve for place, for heir ye may sie above wrⁿ and amongst y^e rest our names, persones of a meane degree insrt be for great persones of qualitie. Memento yer is no entered prentisises insrt amongst us who are y^e Authoires of yis book. And therefor wee ordaine all our successoires in y^e measson craft not to Insrt any entered prenteise until he be past as fellow craft, and lykwayes wee ordaine all our successoires, both entered prenteises and fellow crafts, to pay in to y^e box ane rex dollar at yer receaving, or ane sufficient cautⁿ for it till a day by and attour y^r compositⁿ. Wee ordaine lykwayes y^{at} y^e measson charter be read at y^e entering of everie entered prenteise, and y^e wholl Lawes of yis book, yee shall fynd y^e charter in y^e hinder end of yis book. Fare weell."

"THE NAMES OF THE ENTERED PRENTISES OF THE HONOURABLE LODGE OF THE MEASSONE : CRAFT : OF : ABERDENE IN ORDER AS FOLLOWES." (*Mark of James Anderson.*)

1. GEORGE : THOM. 

2. WILLIAM FORSYTH. 

3. WILLIAM SANGSTER. 

4. WILLIAM MITCHELL. 

5. KENETH FRASSER. 

6. WILLIAM MONTGOMRIE. 

7. JAMES BAUERLEY. 

8. WILLIAM CHALLINER. 

9. JOHN ROSS. 

10. PATRICK SANGSTER. 

11. WILLIAM ROUST. 

Then a list is inserted, entitled, "Heir : Begines : the : names of our : Successoires : of : the : Measson Craft : in : order : as Followes : as : Maister : Meassones," which, according to the instructions of the 1670 rules, was not to contain the names of any apprentices. The foregoing eleven "Prentises" and the forty-nine "Authoires and Subscryuers of this Book" composed the lodge in that year. In subsequent years apprentices who became "Fellow-Crafts" or "Master Masons,"—convertible terms, signifying *passed* apprentices who were out of their time—received an accession of dignity by the insertion of their names in the roll of "Successors," and judging from the similarity of *names* and *marks*, Sangster (3), Frasser (5), Bauerley (7), and Roust (11), were duly passed, and honoured accordingly. The last-mentioned record of members is not so well entered up as the two preceding lists, many of

the marks not being registered. I notice, however, that the mark of William Kempte, No. 3 of the "Authoires," is the same as follows another of that name, who is the thirty-third of the "Successors." "Alexander Kempte," No. 13, and "Allex^r Kempt, Elder," No. 29 of the "Successors," have each the same mark, but "Alex^r. Kempt Yo^r," No. 32, chose quite a different one. The marks are composed sometimes of *even*, and at others, of *odd* points, several being made up of the initials of the Christian and surnames, as monograms. Some represent an equilateral triangle, one or two being used to furnish a single mark, but in the forty-seven marks attached to as many names in the first roll, no two are exactly alike. It will be noted that the apprentices had similar marks to the craftsmen (or master masons), and that on their being promoted to a higher grade *the same marks continued to be used*; yet, until this was pointed out by Hughan some years ago, it was generally believed that marks were conferred on Fellow-Crafts *only*, a fallacy which the Aberdeen records effectually dispel.

Amongst the "Successors" the speculative element was still represented, the fourth in order being "Alexander Whyt, merchand," the fifth "Thomas Lushington, merchand in London," the seventh "Patrick Whyt, hookmaker and measson," and the eighth "George Gordon, taylor and measson," the mark of the latter being a pair of scissors or shears! The clerk appears never to have taken any notice of *past* rank, for whether the member served as warden or master, the fact is recorded by the name of the office only, and each list is made to read as if there were several wardens and masters at the same time. It may be, that owing to the predominance of the speculative element, the same care was not observed, as time rolled on, in registering the marks of this section, there not being the same need for them, as with the operatives. However this may be, the later registers are not so complete as those of 1670, and it is just possible that the operatives kept a separate mark book for themselves soon after the period of the reconstitution of the lodge. In 1781 the bulk of the operatives left the old lodge, taking their mark book with them, and established the "Operative Lodge," No. 150, on the register of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. Since then, as I am informed, the senior Lodge of Aberdeen has ceased to register the marks of its members, a circumstance to be regretted, as such an ancient custom was well worthy of preservation. Reverting, however, to the register of A.D. 1670, what a remarkable list of members it discloses to our view! If, moreover, we bear in mind the period of its compilation—more than two centuries ago—the singular intermixture of speculatives with operatives at a date, it must be recollected, preceding by nearly fifty years the assembly of the four London lodges (1717), whence it has become the fashion to trace the *origin* of speculative masonry, amply confirms the opening words of the current chapter, wherein I have ventured to assert, that the true sources of masonic history have been strangely neglected.

In the opinion of Mr Jamieson, *eight* only of the forty-nine members described as "authors" and "subscribers" were *operative* masons. My own examination of the record had led to the conclusion that about twelve of the brethren fall within that definition, but I am quite willing to accept the *dictum* of one so much better qualified by local knowledge to determine this point. Of the number, whatever it be, the master for the year 1670 was a tutor and collector of the customs, and enjoyed the distinction of presiding (in the lodge) over four noblemen, three ministers, an advocate, a professor of mathematics, nine merchants, two surgeons, two glaziers, a smith, three slaters, two peruke makers, an armourer, four carpenters, and several gentlemen, besides eight or more masons, and a few other tradesmen.

If what we have been considering does not amount to "speculative" Freemasonry, I, for one, should despair of ever satisfying those by whom the proofs I have adduced are deemed insufficient to sustain my contention. It may, indeed, be urged that the register was not written in 1670; but the objection will carry no weight, there being abundant internal evidence to confirm the antiquity of the document. Furthermore, the style of caligraphy and orthography, and the declaration of the penman, all confirm the fact that the record was compiled in the year named, and that it is a *bona fide* register of the members of the Lodge of Aberdeen for 1670. The noblemen who were enrolled as fellow-crafts or master masons at the period of reconstitution were the Earls of Findlater, Dunfermline, and Erroll, and Lord Pitsligo. The only member of the lodge, in 1670, whose death can be recorded with any certainty, was, according to Mr Jamieson, Gilbert, Earl of Erroll, who died at an advanced age in 1674, and, therefore, in all probability must have joined the craft many years previously. A few rays of light have been cast upon the careers of these noblemen by Mr Lyon.¹ The Earl of Erroll succeeded to the title in 1638, was colonel of horse in the "unhappy engagement" for the rescue of Charles I. from the hands of the Parliamentarians, and subsequently raised a regiment for the service of Charles II.

Charles, second Earl of Dunfermline, succeeded his father in 1622, and was the Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland in 1642. He was at Newcastle with Charles I. in 1642; but, after the execution of that unfortunate monarch, went abroad, returning with Charles II. in 1650. At the Restoration he was appointed an extraordinary Lord of Session and Keeper of the Privy Seal. Alexander, third Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, died in 1691. He was great-grandfather of Sir William Forbes, Grand Master Mason of Scotland in 1776-77. James, third Earl of Findlater, died in 1711. His lordship was a firm supporter in parliament of the Treaty of Union.

It may be safely assumed that as the Lodge of Aberdeen was, doubtless, in its inception, a purely *operative* body, many years must have elapsed, *prior* to 1670, before such a predominance of the speculative element would have been possible; for, unless the "Domatic"² section of the Aberdeen Lodge was actuated by sentiments differing widely from those which prevailed in other masonic bodies of a corresponding period, the admission of members not of their own class, except, perhaps, representatives of the nobility and gentry of the immediate neighbourhood, must have been viewed, certainly, in the first instance, with extreme disfavour. Hence the introduction of members of other trades could not have been very rapidly effected; and though, unfortunately, we literally have nothing to guide us in forming an opinion of the internal character of this lodge in the sixteenth century, yet, on the safe assumption that human nature is very much the same everywhere, it is more than probable that the operative masons were but slowly reconciled to the

¹ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 422.

² According to Lyon, the operative and speculative elements into which the old Scottish lodges were divided, in common parlance, became distinguished by finer shades of expression. Thus the former, consisting of actual hand-craftsmen, was held to comprise "Domatic" masons only; and the latter "Gentlemen" masons, "Theoretical" masons, "Geometric" masons, "Architect" masons, and "Honorary members." In the view of the same writer, "Domatic" is derived from the Latin *domus*, a house; and "Geometric," from the Greek *γεω*, the laud or soil, the former of these adjectives signifying "belonging to a house," and the latter having special reference to "landed proprietors, men in some way or other connected with agriculture." But the last-named title, whatever may have been its origin, was ultimately applied "to all Freemasons who were not practical masons" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 82).

expediency of such an innovation—or, as the parties affected might have termed it, *invasion*—as allowing themselves to be outnumbered by members of distinct and possibly of rival crafts.

Neither can it be supposed that the “Geomatic” masons, who, as we have seen, constituted the larger section of the lodge in 1670, were the *first* of their kind admitted to membership—which, indeed, would be tantamount to believing that the lodge was *suddenly* “flooded” with the speculative element. Upon the whole, perhaps, we shall be safe in concluding that the character of the lodge had been for many years very much the same as we find it revealed by the early documents which have passed under review; but the precise measure of antiquity to which it is entitled, as a body practising to any extent a speculative science, cannot, with any approach to accuracy, be even approximately determined.¹

One of the operative members, John Montgomery (No. 12), a warden in 1686, contracted with the magistrates for the building of the present “Cross,” which is an ornament to the “brave toun” and good old city. With rare exceptions, from 1670, the master has been elected from the gentlemen or “Geomatic” masons; the senior warden being usually chosen from the “Domatic” or operative element until 1840. “In 1700 the brethren purchased the croft of Footismyre, on which they built a house and held their lodge meetings, when, owing to the number of noblemen and gentlemen in town and country who were admitted members, together with other professions and trades, the place became too small and inconvenient,”² and a change was rendered necessary.

Kenneth Fraser, who was warden 1696-1708, and master in 1709 (No. 5 of the apprentices, 1670), was the “king’s master mason.” In 1688 he took down the bells from the great steeple of the cathedral of St Machar. According to Lyon, there is a *hiatus* in the records between 1670 and 1696, in which latter year the election of officials is entered in the minutes. Two wardens were appointed until 1700, when the “first” (or senior warden) was discontinued. The old custom of having two wardens was resumed in 1737.

In the by-laws of the lodge of 1853 is a list of the masters and wardens from 1696, but an earlier one might be compiled from the notes subsequently inserted in the mark book of 1670. Many of the “*Authoires*” held office in the lodge, and not a few occupied the chief chair for many consecutive years, their names also occurring as wardens.

The second volume constitutes the “apprentice” minute-book, and contains *undoubted* records from 1696 to 1779, but it is probable that some of the admissions date from 1670. The elections are in one part of the book, and the entries in another. The following may serve as a sample of these minutes:—

“Aberdeine Massone Lodge,

Election 1696.

Att Aberdeine, the 27 of December, being St John’s Day, 1696, thee Hon^{le} Lodge being convened hes unanimously choysen

James Marky, Maister.

John Ronald, } Wardens.
Keneth Fraser, }

William Thomsone, Treasurer.

Alex. Patersone and Geo. Gordone, Key Masters.”

¹ In the opinion of a high authority (Hughan), the Lodge of Aberdeen may reasonably claim for their mixed constitution of 1670, an ancestry of at least a century earlier, and possibly longer.

² Aberdeenshire Masonic Reporter, 1879, pp. 18, 19.

Another minute reads—"Aberdeine, the twentie-sext of July 1701, the Honourable Lodge being conveined, hes unanimouslie received, admitted, and sworne, William Forbes of Tulloch, Mercht in Aberdeine, a brother in our fraternitie, and oblieges him to pay to the treasurer yierly twelve shillings (Scots) for the poor, as witness our hands, day and place forsaid, &c.

"Signed { *Patrick Whyt, Mr.*
William Forbes."

There are numerous entries of apprentices—and if bound to their fathers it made no difference in the form—but as they are so much alike, one example will suffice—"Aberdeine, the third day November 1701, the Honorable Lodge being conveined, hes unanimouslie Received and admitted, John Kempt—brother and printise to Alexander Kempt, Younger—entered printise in our fraternitie, *and by the points* oblieges him during all the days of his lyf tyme (if able) to pay the Treasurer of the Massone Lodge in Aberdeine yierlie, twelve shillings Scots money for behoof of the said Lodge, as witnesseth our hands, day and place forsaid. *Signed, John Kempt.*"

On February 11, 1706, Ensign George Seatone was made a "brother in our fraternitie," and on July 18, William Thomsone (younger), "a sklaiter, was received a *masoun* brother."

Throughout the records, apart from the "Measson Charter"—of which the spirit rather than the letter was accepted as a rule of guidance—there is not a single reference to the "perfect limb" legislation, which, of late years, has been so much insisted upon in American Freemasonry; and we shall vainly search in the records of those early times for a full specification of the *twenty-five* "Landmarks," which modern research pronounces to be both ancient and unalterable.¹

From entries of December 15, 1715, describing five apprentices as "lawfull" sons, it may, perhaps, be inferred that candidates not born in wedlock would have been ineligible, though, as the stigma of illegitimacy was, and is, removable in Scotland by *subsequent* marriage, it seems to me improbable that the *status* of a bastard, in that country, entailed the same disabilities as were attached to it in England. Apprentices were sworn not to engage in any work above £10 Scots money, under the penalty that the lodge should impose, but they were freed from such a rigid rule on becoming fellow-crafts. The annual contributions then were 1s. sterling for operatives, and double that sum for gentlemen, the money being devoted to the use of the poor. Small as these sums were, the early period of their assessment must be considered; but though insignificant now to English ears, they cannot be so to many of the Scottish fraternity, as some lodges still decline to impose any annual contributions whatever upon their members.

The following minute possesses some interesting features—"Att the Measson Hall of aberdein, 20 of December 1709, the honorable lodge thereof being lawfullie called and conveined to settle ane compositione upon those who shallbe entered prenteises in our forsaid lodge of aberdeine, and all unanimouslie agreed that the meassones prenteises within the said lodge shall pay for the Benefit of the measson word twelue pounds Scots at ther entrie,

¹ Cf. Mackey, Encyclopædia, s.v.; American Quarterly Review of Freemasonry, vol. ii., p. 220; Kingston Masonic Annual, 1871, p. 20; and Masonic Review, Cincinnati, Ohio, December 1876. Of the Ancient Landmarks it has been observed, with more or less foundation of truth: "Nobody knows what they comprise or omit; they are of no earthly authority, because everything is a landmark when an opponent desires to silence you, but nothing is a landmark that stands in his own way" (Freemasons' Magazine, February 25, 1865, p. 189).

yr. to, with all necessarie dewes to the clerke and officer, with speaking pynt and dinner, and all those who shall be entered in our Lodge, who hath not served their prenteishipe therein, is to pay sixtein pounds Scots, with all dues conforne as aforesaid, and this act is to stand *ad futurum re memoriam*. In witness whereof wee, the Maister and Warden and Maisters of this honorable Lodge have signed thir presents with our hands, day and dait forsaid."

On November 15, 1717, "George Gordon, Master of arithmetick in Aberdein, (was) unanimously admitted a member of this fraternity," and with this minute I propose to terminate, for the present, extracts from these records. The setting and execution of the "Essays" or "masterpieces," as necessary to obtain full membership, are, as may be expected, frequently referred to, the only marvel being that the custom was continued for so many years after the lodge joined the Grand Lodge of Scotland. Essays or masterpieces, as we have seen, were common to all, or nearly all trades, though, in general—here differing from the later Freemasons—demanding a knowledge of operative, rather than of speculative science. In the year 1584 the cutler's essay was "a plain finished quahawzeir."¹ The blacksmith's masterpiece consisted of "ane door cruick, and door band, ane spaid iron, ane schoile iron, and horse shoe and six nails thereto;" the locksmith's being, "with consent of the blacksmiths, two kist-locks."

Upon March 21, 1657, Mr Charles Smith, advocate, was admitted a blacksmith, and was pleased to produce, by way of essay, "the portrait of a horse's leg, shoed with a silver shoe, fixed with three nails, with a silver staple at the other end thereof, which was found to be a *qualified* and well-wrought essay."² The novelty of the examination probably tended to ease the consciences of some of the old school, who were rigid upholders of the "ancient landmark" theory; and as the prescription of such an essay for an *operative* blacksmith would have been as useless as demanding the customary masterpiece of the trade from a candidate for *speculative* membership, in this particular instance the class rivalries were well balanced.

"In 1673," says Mr Little, "James Innes was admitted a freemason on his application. I am sorry to say I can find no essay on this occasion, neither can I trace the cause of his admission."³

Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh was admitted a freeman on January 11, 1679, and on March 25, 1746, the freedom was conferred on William, Duke of Cumberland. As H.R.H. was similarly admitted to the freedom of all the corporations within the city, Mr Little suggests that the victory at Culloden must be considered as his essay!

In a later portion of this work I shall call attention to the benefit fund connected with the lodge, which has experienced the vicissitudes of good and bad fortune; but before passing from the subject, I may be permitted to express a hope, which will be shared by many students of the craft, that ere long a complete history of the "Aberdeen Lodge" will be written by some one who rightly comprehends the extraordinary character of its ancient records.

¹ Observations on the Hammermen of Edinburgh, by W. C. Little of Libberton, Esq. (Archæologia Scotica—Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1792, vol. i., pp. 170-175).

² *Ibid.* Mr Soame observes: "If Masons and Freemasons were at any time the same thing they are so no longer. Whatever therefore the Freemason retains of the workman's occupation is a mere myth, and for any useful or intelligible purpose, he might as well wear the apron of a blacksmith, and typify his morals by a horseshoe!" (New Curiosities of Literature, 1847, vol. ii., p. 38).

³ Archæologia Scotica, 1792, vol. i., p. 175.

"ANCIENT LODGE," DUNDEE, NO. 49.

On May 2, 1745, this lodge received, what in modern phraseology we should term a "warrant of confirmation," and was numbered 54 on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. The precise measure of antiquity, however, to which it can lay claim, upon the authority of this instrument, there is some difficulty in accurately defining.

If the veracity of the petition which led to the charter is duly vouched for, I must either disregard the semi-judicial opinion of the highest tribunal commanding the confidence of Scottish masons, or forthwith apply myself to rewrite this history of Freemasonry. For example, the petitioners declare "they [their predecessors], in prosecution of the Art, had probably charters, and were erected into a lodge of more ancient date than the petitioners knew of, but under the reign of David the First of Scotland, and Malcolm the Fourth, and William the Lyon, his sons, kings of Scotland. About the year 1160, David, Earl of Huntingdon, a younger son of King David, did arrive in Dundee from the Holy Warr erected a Lodge there, procured them charters, and was himself their Master. . . . That this Lodge was in virtue of their rights continued down to the fatal storming of the town by General Monk in September 1651, when all the rights and charters of this Lodge, with many other valuable things, were lost and destroyed; and that ever since that time they had been in use of continuing the said Lodge, and to enter apprentices, pass fellows of craft, and raise master masons therein!"

There was a convention of lodges called in January 1600 at St Andrews, apparently by order of the warden-general, at which, as the notice appears in the minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh, that body was doubtless charged to attend, and also the lodge at St Andrews, and "the Maisteris of Dindie and Perth be alsu warnit to convene." The Lodge of Dundee was likewise a party to St Clair Charter, No. 2 (1628), which body, in all probability at that time, represented "Our Lady Luge of Dunde," referred to in an indenture of March 23, 1536. This elaborate document is given in the "Registrum Episcopus Brechinensis."¹ The agreement was made between the provost, council, etc., and the kirkmaster on the one part, and George Boiss, "masoun," on the other part, the latter engaging to "exerceiss the best and maist ingenuiss poyntis and prackis of his craft," in working either upon the kirk, or about the town, "at the command of the masteris of werkis," who was to pay him yearly for his life-time the sum of £24 "usuale money of Scotland," in half quarterly portions, but should the said George be engaged about the king's work, or "for any uther Lordis or gentilmenis," then the money to cease *ad interim*, likewise to be paid in the case of illness, should such last for forty consecutive days, but not beyond that time, until work was resumed. The mason was to be allowed an apprentice "fra vii yeris to vii yeris," and as the time of one wore out he was to take another, each apprentice to be received "at the sicht of the maisteris of werkis," and "he shall mak thaim *fre* without any fee the first yer of thair interes." All this was declared to be according to the use of "our lady luge of Dunde," which Lyon points out is the earliest authentic instance of a Scottish lodge following the name of a saint, viz., "Our Lady—*i.e.*, St Mary's—Luge of Dundee."² The hours of work are most explicitly laid down, and an allowance of "ane half hour to his none schankis,"³ save at certain times, when the shortness of the days rendered the latter undesirable. This indenture was signed and

¹ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 36.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ante*, p. 348, note 4.

witnessed by several parties and by George Boiss, with his "hand led at the pen," and the document is tolerably conclusive of the fact, that at the period of its execution, in that part of Scotland, to say the least, the term *free* referred exclusively to the general privileges of the trade.

LODGE OF "ST ANDREW," BANFF, No. 52.

It is not possible to decide when or how this lodge originated. In Hughan's "Analysis"¹ mention is made of its records extending as far back as 1703, and traditionally to a much more remote period. The third degree was not worked until after 1736. It was an operative lodge, and its records are therefore taken up with matters appertaining to trade wants and customs. Hughan has several facsimiles of its minutes, ranging from December 27, 1708, to 1711, and particulars of other entries, but although curiosities in their way, they do not demand reproduction here. The minute book, commencing 1703, consists of one hundred and forty pages, twenty-three of which only have been written on. Its length is but six inches, and its breadth scarcely three inches, so it can be easily imagined that the records contain nothing superfluous. It is, indeed, a minute book *in miniature*. The members of present No. 52 called themselves "The masons belonging to the Lodge of Banff," the chief officer being entitled the master, and the second in rank the warden, the box-master of course being one of the officials. The members assembled annually on the festival of St John the Evangelist, and in the early part of the last century, though the reverse of an opulent body, did a great deal to promote the honour and usefulness of the masonic craft.²

LODGE OF "ST JOHN KILWINNING," HADDINGTON, No. 57.

Although by the grand secretary of Scotland this lodge has been traced back to 1599, it is only numbered 57; but many private lodges, through withholding, in the first instance, their adhesion and submission to the newly formed governing body,³ found, on eventually "falling into line," that the positions to which they might have attained by an earlier surrender of their independence, were filled by *junior* organisations which had exercised greater promptitude in tendering their allegiance. Hence they had to rest satisfied with a position out of all keeping with their real antiquity. Laurie affirms, that the oldest record in possession of this lodge is of the year 1599, which sets forth that a lodge was opened in Gullane Church (now in ruins), but for what purpose cannot be ascertained, the writing being so illegible.⁴ The existence of this old record does not appear to have been known to Lyon, as he declares that its earliest minute is dated December 26, 1713, being an entry of the passing of a fellow-craft. He objects to the claim that "St John Kilwinning" is an offshoot of the "Lodge of Wark in Northumberland," A.D. 1599, and I entirely concur with him in so doing, for I have not succeeded in tracing either at that period. In 1726, the masons of Tranent bound themselves to attend the yearly meetings of the lodge at Haddington. They have still the "band" given by John Anderson, mason burgess, to the masonic lodge, dated February 2, 1682, in security for

¹ Freemasons' Magazine, 1868; and Freemason, March 13, 1869.

² Banff, in the second half of the eighteenth century, took up a prominent position in regard to Royal Arch and Mark Masonry, of which more hereafter.

³ The Grand Lodge of Scotland, established 1736.

⁴ Laurie's History of Freemasonry, 1859, p. 376.

£6 Scots, and an interesting contract (on paper) of May 29, 1697. It is an agreement between the "Masson Lodge of Haddington and John Crumbie," the then deacon of the lodge (viz., Archibald Dawson), acting on behalf of the "remnant massons" thereof. The first condition was that Crumbie "shall not work with, nor in company nor fellowship of any Cowan at any maner of building nor masson work," and the second recapitulates the usual clauses of an apprentice's indenture of that period, such as the avoidance of contracts, days' wages only being allowed, and £6 Scots the maximum value for work that an apprentice could legally undertake. The penalty for violating any or either of the rights and privileges of the lodge was £40 Scots. The deacon agreed to receive and support the apprentice, Crumbie stipulating to pay the ordinary dues "which is use and wont." The document was to be registered "in any judge's books competent within this kingdom." The lodge allowed "fees of honour" to be paid on election to office, as with other old lodges, 10s. Scots having been charged a brother on his appointment as warden in 1723.

"LODGE OF ST JOHN," KELSO, NO. 58.

For all the known details respecting this lodge, the craft is indebted to Mr W. F. Vernon of Kelso.¹ The lodge must have been in active existence long before the earliest date of the minutes which have been happily preserved, for the first opens with an account "of the honourable Lodge of Kelso, under the protection of Saint John, having met and considered *all former sedcrunts*" (i.e., previous meetings). The lodges generally in Scotland assembled on the festival of St John the *Evangelist*. The Lodge of Edinburgh only met some six times on June 24, from 1599 to 1756, and "Kilwinning" and other lodges observed their festivals on other days than that of St John the *Baptist*. Indeed, so far as Scotland is concerned, the memory of the latter saint was much neglected by the ancient lodges. The great "High day" of Freemasonry in Scotland was at or near December 27. The first minute of the lodge at Kelso of December 27, 1701, is in part devoted to a recital of the by-laws which were agreed to at the meeting. Apprentices were to pay £8 Scots, "with their glovs," and "all the gentlemen *who are* the honorary members of the compagnie oblidg themselves to pay a crown yearly,"² to wit, on St John's Day. It was likewise enacted that when an apprentice is registered "as master or fellow of the craft, that he must pay fyv shillins, with new gloves, to the society." The master, warden, and treasurer were entrusted with the disposition of the funds. The names of the officers are not mentioned in 1701, but in June 2, 1702, that of the late master is recorded as "George Faa," deceased. This name is well known on the Border, being that of the royal family of the Gipsy tribe, whose headquarters have been for many generations the pleasantly-situated village of Yetholm, near Kelso. To lovers of ballads, the name of "Johnie Faa," will be familiar.

"The gypsies cam' to our guid Lord's yett."

The ballad commemorates the abduction of the Countess of Cassillis by Sir John Faa of Dunbar, and his subsequent execution by the enraged Earl. After mature deliberation, the members elected "Sir John Pringall of Stichell" to be "the honorable master," and the

¹ History of the Lodge of Kelso (privately printed), 1878.

² The almost universal payment of annual subscriptions by members of the more ancient Scottish lodges is very noteworthy, the more so since of late years the custom has unhappily been allowed to fall into abeyance, much to the disadvantage of the Scottish craft.

"Laird of Stoerig" to be "the worshipful warden." A sum of money was voted to the widow of the late master, George Faa, and other amounts were presented to her at a later period. On June 20, 1704, the thanks of the lodge were voted to those officers for their "prudence and good conduct" and "care and diligence" respectively. The lodge was both operative and speculative, apprentices being regularly entered and fellows duly passed. There is a list of members for St John's Day, 1703, forty in number, the names in the first column were probably written by the clerk, those in the second column are autographs. Some have curious marks attached to them, and several of the members were persons of distinction, including "Sir John Pringall, Baronet." The "Acks of our Books," referred to in the records, are missing, the earliest kept being those of 1701. Unfortunately, the box was "purged of all unesory papers" in 1716, which may account for the absence of older documents. The brethren resolved on St John's Day, 1718, that, according to the acts of their books, some time was to be spent on that day, in each year, in an examination, preparatory to "passing," and only those were to be accepted who were found qualified. On the celebration of the festival in 1720, members were prohibited from "entering" any persons save in the place "where the Lodge was founded." The nomination of "Intenders" is not recorded until 1740. The prefix *free* is not used until 1741, when the lodge was called "The Society of Free and Accepted Masons," but for some time previously there had been a gradual alteration going on in the ordinary descriptions of the business transacted, the members evidently leaning towards the modern designations, and ultimately they united with the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1753.

It is quite within the limits of probability that the lodge was in existence in the seventeenth century, or even earlier, and possibly it was the source from which a knowledge of the "word" was derived by the Rev. James Ainslie. This Presbyterian clergyman "was laureated at the University of Edinburgh, April 17, 1639, called January 11, and admitted and instituted (after being sustained by the General Assembly) December 9, 1652. Objection having been taken because he was a *Freemason*, and the neighbouring presbytery consulted previous to entering him on trials, the presbytery of Kelso, February 24, 1652, replied 'that to their judgment there is neither sinne nor scandale in that word, because in the purest tymes of this kirke, maisons haveing that word have been ministers; that maisons and men haveing that word have been and are daylie in our sessions, and many professors haveing that word are daylie admitted to the ordinances.' He was deprived by the Acts of Parliament June 11, and of the Privy Council October 1, 1662."¹

For the preceding extract, I am indebted to the Rev. A. T. Grant of Rosslyn, past grand chaplain of Scotland, the well-known archaeologist, who says, "two remarks may be made in regard to this case. The first is, that Freemasonry was then held by many of the *strict* Presbyterians as not incompatible with their principles, the fact that Mr Ainslie was deposed on the restoration of Charles II., showing that he belonged to the covenanting section of the Church. The second is, that by the solemn declaration of a church court in 1652, Freemasonry was practised by men other than operative masons before 1600,"² 'the purest tymes

¹ Dr Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesie Scoticanae*, part ii., "Synods of Merse and Teviotdale, Dumfries and Galloway," p. 506. The Rev. A. T. Grant says: "Dr Scott gives the MS. records as his authority, and there can be no doubt that the words he gives are therein contained."

² The importance of this expression of opinion will become evident if we bear in mind that by the generality of Masonic historians it is distinctly laid down that *speculative* Freemasonry had its *origin* in 1717, as the result of a

of this kirke' to a Presbyterian doubtless being the years subsequent to the Reformation of 1560, or, at any rate, before the introduction of Episcopacy in 1610."

The following is from the "Chronicle of Fife":¹—"Ther was something (in the Assembly) spoken anent the *meason word*, which was recommended to the severall presbyteries for tryall thereof. This Assembly satt from the 4 of July to the 6 of August" [1649].

The quotations presented above may throw some light on a singular passage which is to be found in Ayrton's Life of Alexander Henderson.² "Traquair is represented by Clarendon as being inferior to no Scotsman in wisdom and dexterity, and as one whose integrity to the King, and love for the work in hand, was notorious. Baillie also vindicates his character, and Hamilton always advised the King to make use of him, notwithstanding his ambition and love of popularity. But Heylin and others paint him in black colours as 'a dangerous piece, and not to be trusted.' Laud complained of Traquair playing fast and loose; the bishops blamed him for giving information to Johnston; and it was a common saying at the time that he had the *mason's word* among the Presbyterians."³

LODGE OF "ST NINIAN," BRECHIN, NO. 66.

Although the history of this lodge has been briefly sketched by Hughan,⁴ no detailed review of its ancient records has yet been published. The earliest by-laws are of the year 1714, and were agreed to on the festival of St John the Evangelist. (1.) "If ane free prentice or handy craftsman," the fee for entry was 40s. Scots, but strangers were charged £3 *sterling*. (2.) None were to be "entered" unless either the master of the lodge, warden, or treasurer were present, "with two free masters and two entered prentices." (4.) No members were "to witness the entry or passing of any person into any other lodge, unless the dues be paid *into this lodge*." (5.) Passing only to take place in the presence of the master, warden, and seven of the members. (6.) "Any man who shall come to work within this lodge, if not ane free man ye^{ef} shall pay *into the box* the sum of 40s. Scots mony, with 3s. and 4d. to the officers." (8.) Joining members from other lodges were to pay 20s. Scots. (9.) "Each measson shall insert his mark in this book, and shall pay thirteen shillings moe for booking their mark." (10.) Brethren were to attend on St John's Day yearly, "for commemorating the said apostle, our patron, and tutelar saint."

These rules were entered in the minute-book, A.D. 1723: "We subscribers, measons, members of the honourable fraternity of Measons of the Lodge of Brechine subscribing, hereby bind and oblige, and our successors, duly and strictly, to obey and observe the ordinances and acts . . . in the hale heads, tenor, and contents of the same."

An "index" is preserved in the lodge of the "several marks of the handycrafts and members since the 27th December 1714." The lodge submitted to the Grand Lodge in 1756.

resolution "that the privileges of Masonry should no longer be restricted to operative masons." Cf. Preston, Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 246; Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 130; Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 139; and Steinbrenner, Origin and Early History of Freemasonry, p. 127.

¹ Diary of John Lamont (Chronicle of Fife), 1649-72, p. 9.

² Rev. J. Ayrton, Life and Times of Alexander Henderson, introduction, p. 65.

³ The Rev. A. T. Grant, to whom I am indebted for the three references in the text to the *mason word*, informs me that he remembers, when a boy, hearing people talk mysteriously of the "millers' word and grip," some persons indeed believing that by the *word* a miller could arrest the action of a mill-wheel!

⁴ Voice of Masonry, Chicago, U.S.A., July 1872; and Masonic Magazine, London, Oct. 1873.

LODGE OF "ATCHESON-HAVEN" (*Extinct*).

I cordially endorse the statement made by Lyon—that the records of this lodge rank next to those of the Lodge of Edinburgh in point of antiquity. That zealous antiquary frequently alludes to its minutes in his History of No. 1; but, notwithstanding the several excerpts therein presented, it is to be regretted that a thorough examination and reproduction of its records has yet to be made. Its version of the "Old Charges" of the year 1666 I have already noticed.¹ There was in all probability a much older copy in use, but "through wear and tear" it had to be replaced at that period. The lodge itself met successively at Musselburgh, Prestonpans, Morrison's Haven, Atcheson's Haven, and Pinkie, and, in conjunction with the Incorporation, regulated the affairs of the mason trade within those boundaries until the middle of the last century. Lyon, from whom I quote, says there was a benefit society, into which Protestants only were admissible, under the wing of the lodge until 1852, when it was dissolved, and its funds, amounting to about £400, divided amongst its members. There is no trace of the third degree being practised prior to 1769, although the lodge united in forming the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1736. The members, however, would not tolerate any interference with their peculiar rules, so they withdrew their allegiance in the following year, but the lodge was restored to the roll in 1814, continuing thereon until 1866, when, becoming dormant, it was finally erased. In its charter, granted in 1814 by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, it was certified that the lodge had been in existence from the year 1555, and from the circumstance of its being present at the constitution of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1736, it was resolved that precedence should be allowed from that date.² Sir Anthony Alexander, master of work to Charles I. (a member of No. 1), presided in that capacity (and as general warden) over a meeting of master tradesmen at Falkland, October 31, 1636. The minutes of this assembly are duly engrossed in the first few pages of the oldest records of "Atcheson-Haven," the object of the conference being to repress certain abuses in the "airtis and craftis" of masons, wrights, shipwrights, coopers, glaziers, painters, plumbers, slaters, plasterers, etc. The suggestions then made were agreed to by the lodge on January 14, 1637, which was presided over by Sir Anthony Alexander, who duly attested the minutes thereof. It is singular, however, that there is no evidence in the minute books of any portion of these regulations ever having been actually in operation in the lodge, and the records are not so commonly embellished with the marks of the craftsmen, as in the case of most other Scottish lodges of a similar antiquity.

It is also noteworthy that neither the "Schaw Statutes" nor the early records of "Kilwinning" and "Mary's Chapel" show any trace of or make any provision for the initiation of the clerks. It is highly probable that the notary elected as clerk had not only to subscribe to the oath of fidelity, but also to pass through the ceremony of admittance as a free-mason (whatever that consisted of), before being qualified to act in the lodge requiring his services. At all events, the clerk of "Atcheson-Haven" Lodge was a mason in 1636, as the following quaint certificate appended to the statutes before mentioned recites:—"We, Sir Anthony Alex^r, general warden and mr. of work to his Ma'tie, and measounis of the Ludge of Achieson's Havin undersubscrybeand, haveing experience of the literatour and understanding of George Aytoun, notar publick, and *ane brother of craft*, Thairfor witt ye us to have

¹ See chap. ii., *passim*.

² Laurie's History of Freemasonry, 1859, p. 186.

acceptit and admitit, lyke as we be the termes heirof accept and admitt the said George Aytoun and na other, dureing our pleassour, our onlie clerk for discharging of all writt, indentures, and others.”¹ Sir Anthony Alexander was made a mason about two years before the passing of these statutes, which may account for the preference exhibited towards a brother of the same craft.

In 1638, the then master of work, Henrie Alexander (brother of his immediate predecessor), met “ane competent number of meassons of the ludge,” who approved of the new acts, elected officers, etc., only it was provided that their clerk is to hold office *durant' vita vell ad culpam*. The “aithe de fidelj” was administered to each—a custom which is still continued in Scotland, though not in England. The members were much distressed at the number of brethren who ignored or disobeyed the rules of their “craft of masonry, which has been so much honoured in all ages for its excellent and well-ordered laws;” so they agreed, at the annual meeting on December 27, 1700, when the foregoing formed part of a long preamble, to have the regulations enforced and respected for the future. The chief grievances were, that apprentices did not qualify themselves to undertake work by passing as fellow-crafts; that craftsmen who countenanced such a course virtually admitted them to the privileges which *they* only obtained by lawful means, hence such conduct brought “all law and order and the *mason word* to contempt;” and that those who did “pass” were not accepted at the regular time, viz., the annual meeting. Even after these efforts, the apprentices were not obedient, so that in 1719 it was enacted that all such must be passed not later than the third St John’s Day after the expiration of their indentures; and on December 27, 1722, it was resolved that the warden shall, on each morning of every St John’s Day, “try every entered prentis that was entered the St John’s Day before, under the penalty of ‘on croun’ to the box.”

LODGE OF “ HAUGHFOOT ” (*Extinct*).

The history of the Lodge at Haughfoot has been carefully written by Mr Sanderson, who is also the historian of the old Lodge of Peebles. The records begin in the first decade of the last century and terminate in 1763; and throughout observe a uniform silence as to the third, or master mason’s degree. The meetings were generally held once a year, on the festival of St John the Evangelist, the officers being the “Presses” (or master), clerk, and box-master, until 1759, when a warden was first appointed. The members were, for the most part, gentlemen and tradesmen in the neighbourhood, and not necessarily of the mason’s trade; thus, from 1702, it really had a greater claim to be deemed a “speculative” than an “operative” lodge.

On December 22, 1702, Sir James Scott of Gala, his brother Thomas, and six others, one being John Pringle, a wright, “were duly admitted apprentices and fellow-crafts.” After which the brethren resolved with one voice to hold their meetings on St John’s Day. A remarkable entry occurs in the early minutes (1702)—“*Of entrie as the apprentice did, leaving out (the common judge). They then whisper the word as before, and the Master grips his hand in the ordinary way.*” These words are capable of more than one interpretation, but having regard to the fact, that the postulant was already in possession of the *word*, and that the *grip* was to be of the *ordinary* kind, I think we shall not go far astray in concluding that they were a direction to the “Master” at the “passing” of “fellows of craft.” The ceremonial was

¹ These “Actis and Statutis” are reproduced in Laurie’s History of Freemasonry, 1859, p. 445.

plainly a "common form," but it informs us that the Haughfoot masons were taught a *grip* as well as a *word*. There being no similar reference of equal date in the Scottish records, it cannot be positively determined that both *grip* and *word* were communicated in the lodges of the seventeenth century. It is probable, indeed, that they were, and, for my own part, I regard the curious entry above cited as indicating that, long prior to the era of Grand Lodges, the "masonic secret" comprised more than a single method of recognition. The Laird of Torsonee was elected Master in 1705. In this lodge the youngest apprentice was called to office, but whether to assume the same duties as those filled by the "oldest apprentice" in other lodges, I cannot say; as he is termed the "officer," probably it was in part to act as Tyler, according to modern usage. In 1707 it was resolved that "except on special considerations, aye year at least should intervene betwixt any being admitted apprentice, and his being entered fellow-craft." On St John's Day, 1708, two persons "were admitted into this lodge, and received the word *in common form*,"¹ whatever that may mean.

Edinburgh was to be again masonically invaded, for on January 24, 1711, several members of the lodge, some being resident in that city, assembled therein, but in what part is not said, and admitted Mr John Mitchelson of Middleton an "apprentice and fellow-craft in common form." Middleton was half way between Edinburgh and Haughfoot. No notice appears to have been taken of such admissions by the lodges in Edinburgh, one reason probably being that they were not very particular themselves, and evidently what is now known as the American doctrine of exclusive masonic jurisdiction did not then prevail.

LODGE OF "MELROSE" (*Independent*).

Prior to 1880 no history, worthy of the name, of this old lodge had ever been presented. This was partly owing to the difficulty of obtaining access to its musty records, and in some degree, no doubt, to the fact of the custodians of these documents not entertaining a very clear idea of what had been confided to their charge. That there was a lodge at Melrose of great antiquity, which possessed many curious manuscripts relating to the proceedings of bygone members, who would not join in the formation of a Grand Lodge, and whose influence had been sufficient to leave their mark upon the present generation of Melrose masons, we all knew, the existence of the lodge being kept alive in our memories by the annual torchlight processions which still continue to be observed. It is true, moreover, that Mr Buchan of Glasgow visited the ancient town, and obtained some little information respecting the lodge about ten years before the visit of Mr Vernon of Kelso, and that the former gave to the craft, in the *Freemasons' Magazine*, a most interesting sketch of his pilgrimage.² Mr Buchan, however, presented no excerpts from the old records which he had been privileged to inspect, and was not even aware of there being amongst them a copy of the "Old Charges," dating from the seventeenth century. Vernon was equally fortunate in the opportunities afforded him, and more diligent in the advantages he took of them. He examined the whole of the records, made careful extracts from the minutes, and transcribed with extreme exactitude the Melrose MS., a version of the Masonic Constitutions or Charges, which has already been described.³ This zealous inquirer must, therefore, be hailed as the first historian of the Lodge of Melrose, and it is very greatly to be desired that the success which has attended his original

¹ *Freemasons' Magazine*, October 16, 1869.

² *Ibid.*, September 11, 1869.

³ *Ante*, p. 66.



COLONEL SHADWELL H. BARBER,

SECRETARY OF THE I.O.O.F.

search may stimulate him to undertake a further examination of the records still extant at this early home of Freemasonry.

This sketch of the lodge may be divided into two sections—the traditional and the historical. Of the former there is but little to say, but that little is not deficient in interest.

If, in the absence of documentary evidence, the dates of the erection of the various abbeys in Scotland are accepted as the periods when Freemasonry was introduced into their respective districts, it is claimed by Vernon that Kelso would stand first, Edinbrugh second, and the third place would be occupied by Melrose. According to Fort (p. 113), “the first reliable account touching masons, historically considered, is to be found engraved, in nearly obliterated characters, on the walls of Melrose Abbey Church, and establishes the fact that, as early as the year 1136, this portion of the United Kingdom depended on master masons imported from abroad.” The inscription in question will be found upon a tablet inserted in the wall of the south transept, and is commonly taken to be:¹—

“ John : murdo : sum : tym : callit :
 was : E : and : born : in : parysse :
 certainly : and : had : inkeping :
 al : mason : werk : of : santan
 drogs : ye : hyc : kirk : of : glas
 gu : melros : and : paslay : of :
 nyddysdagll : and : of : galway :
 pray : to : god : and : mari : baith :
 and : sweet : sanct : iohn : to : kcep : this : haly : kirk :
 fra : skaith.”

From the evidence of this inscription, Fort has deduced some startling conclusions—(1) that John Morow,² a Frenchman, was the architect or master mason of the edifice; (2) that there were lodges of masons employed, over which Morow presided as the general or grand master; and (3)—as already stated—that in 1136 Scottish architecture only flourished under the direction of master masons imported from abroad. In the first place, however, the inscription, which may, indeed, have been cut at some time after Morow’s death, is considered by the best authorities to be *not older* than the fourteenth century, whilst they incline to the opinion that it is *probably* of much later date. Secondly, it nowhere appears that Morow was either architect of the building, or that he had charge over all the other workmen employed at the construction of the churches and cathedrals mentioned in his quaint lines. The inscription simply states that he had charge of the masons’ work, as the “keeper” or superintendent of the repairs and alterations of buildings already completed. It is, however, a curious fact in

¹ Rev. J. Morton, *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, 1832, pp. 250, 251.

² Murdo, Mordo, Morow, Morvo, or Meurvo—perhaps originally, *Moreau* or *Murdoch*—“The inscription cannot well be older than the sixteenth century; and it is not likely that Murdo, whose name would indicate a Scottish origin, performed any functions beyond repairs and restorations” (R. W. Billings, *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 6). Leroux de Lancy mentions a *Jean Moreau* as having been consulted at the rebuilding of the bridge of *Notre Dame* at Paris, April 8, 1500 (Dictionary of Architecture—Arch. Pub. Soc.).

mediaeval operative masonry—which, being important, has naturally been neglected—that one man should have been the superintendent of so many buildings; but the usage was not unknown in England,—for example, at Salisbury. Above the door leading to a stairway in the abbey is a shield carved in relief, displaying two pairs of compasses interlaced, and three fleur-de-lys, with an almost obliterated inscription in quaint Gothic letters, which Morton says may be read thus :

“ Sa gays ye compas ebyn about
sa trut̄ and laute do, but doute.
behauilde to ye hende q. iohne murdo.”¹

“ There are very few lodges,” observes Mr Vernon, “ either in England² or Scotland, which can produce documentary evidence of having been in existence over two hundred years; but this the ‘ Melrose Lodge’ can do, and while we regret the position it occupies in, or rather out of, the Masonic world, we cannot but reverence it for its antiquity, when we remember that its records date in almost unbroken succession from the year 1674 down to the present time.”³

The place of meeting was not Melrose, but Newstead (“ *Neusteidl*”), down to 1743. Newstead is situated about a mile east from Melrose, or mid-way between the ancient religious houses of *Mailros* and *Melros*. The collocation of the minutes is very confusing, there being an entire absence of chronological sequence; and, from the examples which Vernon gives us, it may be safely concluded that the first book of records must, at some period, have been rebound, and the sheets stitched together without any regard being paid either to the pagination or chronology. The first entry in the volume is of 1678, the second 1729, and then there are others of 1679 and 1682!

The earliest minute is dated December 28, 1674, and is to the effect that, “ be the voyce of the lodge,” no master shall take an apprentice under seven years, the latter to pay £8 (Scots) for “ meat and drink,” and 40s. (Scots) for “ the use of the box, by and allow y^m sufficient gloves.” It was also “ condescendet on y^t wⁿ ever a prentice is mad frie mason, he must pay four pund Scots, w^{ch} four pund Scots is to be stowet at the pleasour of the lodge.” Neither apprentices nor fellow-crafts were to be received save on St John’s Day.

On December 27, 1679, the contents of the box were duly examined, and receipt thereof taken from the “ boxe master,” Thomas Bunye being the master. I have referred to the extraordinary number of members connected with the lodge bearing the name of Mein;

¹ “ As the compass goes round without deviating from the circumference, so, doubtless, truth and loyalty never deviate. Look well to the end, quoth John Murdo ” (Morton, *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 251). The inscription does not run in regular lines, but is carved above and beside the shield. John Bower reads the name *Morvo*, and states, that in the town of Melrose, “ There is a Lodge of Free-masons belonging to St John ; in the Lodge is an old picture bearing the masons’ coat of arms, with an inscription of ‘ *In deo est omnes fides* ;’ below the arms is John Morvo, first grand-master of St John’s Lodge, Melrose, anno dom. 1136 ” (*The Abbeys of Melrose*, 1822, pp. 66, 109). It is probable that Fort’s conclusions rest upon no other authority than the evidence supplied by the “ picture ” here alluded to ?

² Three out of *four* lodges, which founded the Grand Lodge of England, A.D. 1717, still survive, but their existence cannot be traced with any certainty beyond the year named. Cf. Preston, *Illustrations of Masonry*, 1792, p. 219 ; and *The Four Old Lodges and Their Descendants*, 1879, *passim*.

³ *Masonic Magazine*, January to June 1880, pp. 321, 365, 409, 453. See *ante*, p. 90, note 1.

and, as an illustration thereof, I may remark that five out of the seven brethren present at the audit were distinguished by that patronymic. At the St John's Day, 1680, Andrew Mein is described as the "M^r Masone," and Alexander Mein as the "wardine." On December 27, 1681, John Bunye "was entered and received fr[ee] to the tread" [trade], his master being his father; another entry states that one of the members was obliged to be "cautioner" for the good conduct of an apprentice. It was likewise noted that an apprentice was entered at Dalkeith instead of the regular place of meeting, so the offenders were to be made answerable for the same at next St John's Day. How the irregularity was explained does not appear in the records. Other entries I pass over until the one in 1684 is reached, which runs:—"At Neusteid, the — day of december 1684, it is fastlie compted be the measons in the lodge of melros what the trou expence of the building of the loft and seat in the kirk of Melros is, the wholl soume is 242 lb. 13s. 6d." I desire to draw particular attention to this minute, not only because the members were so interested in a provision being made for them in their kirk, but also from the fact that the entry is one of the earliest of its kind in ascribing a name to a particular lodge, apart from the house or place in which the meetings were held. Although assembling in Newstead, it is explicitly called the *Lodge of Melrose*. The festival was celebrated again on December 28, 1685, which was on a *Friday*, as on December 28, 1674,¹ so it is probable there were local objections to the Thursday being utilised for the purpose. The cash paid out of the box for "meat and drink, etc., amounted to £11, 0s. 10d. (*Scots*). On the festival of St John, 1686, eighteen members signed a resolution, that, in consequence of the difficulty experienced by the treasurer in collecting the dues, on and after that day, none are to be "past frie to ye trade," unless for "readie money," or on approved security. On December 27, 1687, is a note of the payment of £1 (*Scots*) to Thomas Ormiston, "for keeping of ye seat." I fancy this expenditure had reference to the use of the kirk for their annual service prior to the banquet, but nothing is said there to enable us to decide; but in the particulars of the cost of the annual feast in the following year, there is the charge for "the lad for keipein of the set in the kirk," which I had not noticed on writing the preceding remark as to the 1687 register. Vernon suggests that the next entry must have been written *after dinner*, and the conclusion at which he arrives, will doubtless remain unchallenged:—"27 Dec^r 1690 f⁴ is votted that everie meason that takes the place in the kirk befor his elder broy^r is a grait ase."

There are lists of fellow-crafts and entered apprentices² of the seventeenth, and others in the succeeding century, having distinctive marks attached. The fines and other sums owing to the lodge read as heavy amounts; and, evidently, the arrears then, as in modern times, were the subject of very painful contemplation. In 1695 (December 27) it was enacted that neither apprentice nor fellow-craft be received, unless they have the gloves for those entitled thereto, or be mulcted in £10 penalty.

Before dismissing the seventeenth century records, there is an agreement of January 29, 1675, "betwixt the Maisones of the Lodge of Melros," that deserves examination. It was written by "Andro Mein, Meason, portioner³ of Neustied," who was, in all probability, the

¹ Possibly a special assembly, held *after* the celebration of the festival of St John?

² There is a roll of "apprentices" for 1703 and 1709, having several marks attached, and in the lists of "apprentices" entered 1719-1734 their marks are also inserted.

³ *I.e.*, A small proprietor.

“A. M.” who transcribed the “Old Charges” of the preceding year.¹ The document is a mutual bond by the masons and apprentices “in ye lodge of Melrois,” and is signed by no less than *eighty* of its members, several of whom append their designations, such as “maltman,” weaver, vintner, and hostler, thereby proving that at the period mentioned (1675) many of the brethren *were not operative masons*, though connected with the lodge as *free-masons*. The apprentices had hitherto only been bound by their indentures for some three or four years, which was found to act prejudiciously to the trade, so the brethren agreed that the period should thereafter be extended to seven years, the sum of £20 (Scots) being payable for each year by which the term was shortened. Apprentices were to be received on St John’s Day, save when it falls “on ye Sabbath Day,” when the day following was to be observed. Should the master mason, warden, box-masters and others consent, stranger apprentices may be entered on other days, so long as the requisite fees are paid, and such receptions regularly reported. Other clauses are inserted, and the whole were to be “insert and registrat in ye book of counsall and sescion books of ye regalitie of Melrois.”

The rule which required an examination as to the skill of the craftsmen was not to be infringed with impunity, for in 1707 those “persons” who had absented themselves from the required scrutiny were there and then “denuded from aine benifite” until due submission was made. On the Festival of St John, 1739, “the Companie of the Ancent Lodge of Melros,” on finding that three of their number (two being masons and one a wright), on their own confession, had been guilty of “Entring” a certain person on an irregular day, fined them £8 (Scots), and they were also to provide a pair of gloves for every member! There were several fines imposed about this period for the non-presentation of gloves at the proper time, which were promptly levied.

The St John’s Day, 1745, was specially entered in the minutes, for it was proposed “that all the members doe atend the *Grand Mr.* to walk in procession from their meeting to their generall place of Randevouz.” The proposition was carried by a great majority, and it was then agreed that “each in the company walk with the *Grand Mr.* with clean aprons and gloves.” The same meeting resolved to accept five shillings *sterling* from apprentices and craftsmen “in Leu of Gloves” in all “time comeing.”

There are numerous minutes transcribed by Vernon, which it would be foreign to my present purpose to present in detail, though they are of considerable value as portions of his general history of the lodge. His remark, however, that the third degree does not appear in the records until a few years since, is too important to pass over without being specially emphasised.

The members continue to keep the festival of St John the Evangelist as did their ancient forefathers, and proceed in procession by torchlight through Melrose to the ruins of the abbey, “which they illuminate with coloured fire, having special permission from the superior, His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, so to do, and afterwards they dine together.” Even should the weather prove unfavourable (as it did on December 27, 1879, when more than one hundred members mustered in honour of the occasion), there is no lack in the attendance and enthusiasm of the brethren, and as the lodge owns “a fine hall and shop,” has £300 deposited at interest, and its income approaches £200 annually, it is most gratifying to

¹ *Ante*, pp. 67, 90 (note 1).

reflect that the representatives of this ancient body have proved so worthy of the trust reposed in them; and the only regret we shall experience, in passing from the history of this lodge, arises from its continued objection to accepting a place and number on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

The Acts of the Scottish Parliament are referred to by Lyon as "strengthening the presumption that the Grand Master Mason of James I. is a purely fabulous personage;"¹ but except in this particular, and as illustrating the character of the appointment of Master of Work, they present few features that would interest the reader.

None of the statutes enacted during the reigns of James II. and III. which have been preserved, have any special relation to the mason craft; nor does it appear from any municipal records of the same period that it enjoyed a pre-eminence of position over other trades.² The privileges of the crafts in general, are indeed alternately enlarged and curtailed, as we have seen was the case in the southern kingdom, and the Parliament of Scotland, like that of England, was constantly occupied in repressing by legislative measures the exorbitant demands made by associated bodies of workmen.

The Laws of the Burghs (*Leges Quatuor Burgorum*), the earliest collected body of the laws of Scotland of which there is any mention,³ allow the son of a burgess "the fredome to by and sell" whilst with his father, yet on setting up for himself he is not to use the freedom of the burgh, "bot gif he by it and be maid freman."⁴

In 1424, each trade, *with the officers of the town*, was empowered to choose a "Dekyn or Maisterman" to "assay and govern" the works of that craft; but in 1426 the powers of the deacons were restricted to examining "every fifteen days that the workmen are cunning and their work sufficient," the wages of wrights and masons and the price of materials were to be determined by the town council, and workmen were ordered not to take more work in hand than they could finish within the stipulated time.⁵ In the following year the privilege of electing deacons was withdrawn, that they might no longer "hold meetings, which are often conspiracies," and the government of all crafts was entrusted to *wardens*, who were to be appointed "by the council of the Burgh, or the Baron in landward districts," and whose duties comprised the fixing of wages and the punishment of offenders.⁶ Laws against combinations of workmen and extortionate charges were passed in 1493, 1496, 1540,⁷ 1551, and 1555.⁸

¹ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 2. "While Free-Masonry was flourishing in England under the auspices of Henry VI., it was at the same time patronised in the sister kingdom by King James I. By the authority of this monarch every Grand Master who was chosen by the brethren, either from the nobility or clergy, and approved of by the crown, was entitled to an annual revenue of four pounds Scots from each master mason, and likewise to a fee at the initiation of every new member" (Lawrie's History of Freemasonry, 1804, p. 99).

² Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 4.

³ Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, 1844, vol. i., preface, p. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23 (*Lex Burgh*, xiv.). This law is almost identical with one in force at Newcastle-on-Tyne, *temp. Henry I.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 8, 13.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14. In 1469 it was enacted, "that the Dean of Guild should be chosen by the Town Council and the representatives of the crafts," p. 95. This regulation applied, I assume, in the cases where the crafts or trades were associated for purposes of domestic government.

⁷ By the terms of this law employers were permitted to choose "gude craftis men, *fre men*, or *otherwise*."

⁸ Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, 1844, vol. i., pp. 234, 238, 376, 487, 497.

In the last-named year the office of deacon was once more suppressed, and it was declared that no one shall have power to convene or assemble any craftsmen in a private "conuention" for the purpose of making any acts or statutes.¹ Combinations to enhance prices were not, however, so readily put down, as we find, in 1584, the craftsmen of Edinburgh, under renewed pressure, *undertaking* not to continue this offence—making private laws or statutes—but to submit to the award of the magistrates, though it was provided that each craft might "convene" for the election of a deacon, "the *making* of masters," or "the trying of their handie work."²

Foremost among the noticeable features of early Scottish masonry is the evident simplicity of the ceremony of reception. "Until about the middle of the last century," says Lyon, "initiations effected *without* the Lodge were freely homologated by Mother Kilwinning; and it was only when the fees for such intrants failed to be forthcoming that abhorrence of the system was formally expressed, and its perpetuation forbidden."³

By the rules of at least one of her daughter lodges, framed in 1765, ordinary members resident at a distance of "more than three miles from the place where the box is kept," were permitted "to enter persons *to* the Lodge," a custom—"in the observance of which one mason could, unaided, make another—indicating either the presence of a ritual of less elaborate proportions than that now in use, or a total indifference to uniformity in imparting to novitiates the secrets of the craft."⁴ In his larger work, the same authority speaks of the MASON WORD as constituting the only secret that is ever alluded to in the minutes of Mary's Chapel, Kilwinning, Atcheson's Haven, Dunblane, or any others that he has examined, of earlier date than 1736, and this he believes to have been at times "imparted by individual brethren in a ceremony extemporised according to the ability of the initiator."⁵

At a subsequent stage I shall resume and conclude my review of British Freemasonry before the epoch of Grand Lodges. To many readers the fact will be new, that in Scotland in the seventeenth century, the members of Masons' Lodges were not exclusively operatives; but the precise bearing of this circumstance upon the Masonic system of three degrees—of which there is no positive evidence before 1717—I cannot now pause to consider, as its significance will more fitly claim our attention at a later period.

Between the earliest *record* in Scotland and England respectively—of the admission or reception of a candidate for the lodge—there is a wide interval; and influences unknown in the former country, may not have been without weight, in determining the form which English Masonry assumed, on passing from the obscurity of tradition into the full light of history.

In the chapters next following—IX. Masons' Marks; X. The Quatuor Coronati; and XI. Apocryphal Manuscripts—I am desirous of drawing upon all sources of information, and of examining in detail a variety of matters incidentally mentioned in the various divisions of this work.

This accomplished, and the evidence being complete, I shall proceed with the early history of Freemasonry in England.

¹ "Without ony powar to mak gaddring or assēbling of thame to ony priuate conuention or making of ony actis or statutis." *Cf.* chap. ii., *ante* (XVI.).

² Acts of the Scottish Parliament, vol. iii., p. 363a.

⁴ *Ibid.*

³ Freemasons' Magazine, July 1, 1865, p. 1.

⁵ Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 22.

CHAPTER IX.

MASONS' MARKS.

R GEORGE GODWIN, editor of the *Builder*, has justly claimed that in early days he noticed the fact, now well known, but not so then, that the stones of many old churches bore peculiar marks, the work of the original builders; and that, so long ago as 1841, he submitted a communication on the subject to the Society of Antiquaries, which, with a second memoir on the same subject, and transcripts of 158 of the marks from England, France, and Germany, was printed in the "Archæologia."¹ Mr Godwin's letters brought these signs under public observation, and in the interval between the dates upon which they were written—December 16, 1841, and February 2, 1843—M. Didron of Paris communicated a series of observations on marks to the "Comité Historique des Arts et Monuments," which Mr Godwin notices in his second letter to Sir H. Ellis.²

The marks collected by M. Didron divide themselves, according to his opinion, into two classes—those of the overseers and those of the men who worked the stones. The marks of the first class consist generally of monogrammatic characters, and are placed separately on the stones; those of the second class partake more of the nature of symbols, such as shoes, trowels, mallets, etc. It is stated that at Rheims, in one of the portals, the lowest of the stones forming one of the arcades is marked with a kind of monogrammatic character, and the outline of a sole of a shoe. The stone above it has the same character, and two soles of shoes; the third the same character, and three soles, and so on all round the arcade. The shoe mark he found also at Strassburg, and nowhere else, and accounts for this by the fact that parts of the cathedral of Rheims were executed by masons brought from Strassburg.

The marks on both English and French buildings, for the most part, vary in length from 2 to 7 inches, and those found at Cologne from 1½ inch to 2 inches, and were chiefly made, Mr Godwin believes, to distinguish the work of different individuals. At the present time the man who works a stone (being different from the man who sets it) makes his mark on the

¹ Something About Masons' Marks in Various Countries (Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1868-69, pp. 135-144, by George Godwin, Fellow).

² Two Letters from George Godwin, F.R.S., and F.S.A., to Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary, on Certain Marks Discoverable on the Stones of Various Buildings Erected in the Middle Ages (Archæologia, 1844, vol. xxx., pp. 113-120).

bed or other internal face of it, so that it may be identified. The fact, however, that in the ancient buildings it is only a certain number of the stones which bear symbols—that the marks found in different countries (although the variety is great) are in many cases identical, and in all have a singular accordance in character, in the opinion of the same writer—seems to show that the men who employed them did so by system, and that the system, if not the same in England, Germany, and France, was closely analogous in one country to that of the others. Moreover, adds Mr Godwin, many of the signs are evidently religious and symbolical, and agree fully with our notions of the body of men known as the Freemasons.¹

Mr Godwin's communications gave a great impetus to the study of this branch of archaeological research, and he remarks with good reason, in 1869, "It is curious how long a thing may remain unseen until it has been pointed out;" and records the observation of an old French priest, to whom he had shown the marks with which the walls of his church in Poictiers were literally strewn:—"I have walked through this church four times a day, twenty-eight times a week, for nearly forty years, and never noticed one of them; and now I cannot look anywhere but they fit into my eyes."

Mr Chalmers (1850) thought that masons' marks had, if they have not now, a mystical meaning, their primary use being to denote the work of each mason employed in hewing or preparing stones for any building: first, that, if paid by the piece, each man may have his work measured without dispute; second, that if work be badly done, or an error made, it may at once be seen on whom to throw the blame, and by whom, or at whose expense, the fault is to be amended.

It was a law in St Ninian's Lodge at Brechin that every mason should register his mark in a book, and he could not change that mark at pleasure. The marks differ in no respect in character from those which were brought into notice by Mr Godwin. To the inquiry, on what principle, or according to what rule, these marks were formed, Scottish masons generally replied, "That they probably had in early times a meaning now unknown, and are still regarded with a sort of reverence; that the only rule for their formation is, that they shall have at least one angle; that the circle must be avoided, and cannot be a true mason's mark unless in combination with some line that shall form an angle with it;² that there is no distinction of ranks—that is, that there is no particular class of marks set apart for and assigned to master masons as distinguished from their workmen; and if it should happen that two masons meeting at the same work from distant parts should have the same mark, then one must for a time assume a distinction, or, as heralds say, 'a difference.'"³

The Irish craftsmen and masons of the Middle Ages, it is said, not only had private marks, but also a dialect called "Bearlagair-na-Sair," which was unknown to any but the initiated of

¹ In a paper, read at the Institute of British Architects, March 14, 1836, and published in the *Architectural Magazine*, vol. iii., p. 193 (on the "Institution of Free-Masonry," by George Godwin, architect), the author quotes extensively from the "Parentalia," Pownall and Hope's "Essays," and Dallaway's "Discourses," and was evidently deeply imbued with the erroneous teaching which reached its culminating point in the attractive pages of the late Mr Hope.

² Fallou asserts that the apprentice *Steinmetzen*, at the conclusion of his term, received a mark, which always contained one right angle or square (Mysterien der Freimaurer, p. 68).

³ Patrick Chalmers, Esq., F.S.A., On the Use of Mason Marks in Scotland (*Archaeologia*, 1852, vol. xxxiv., pp. 33-36). An intelligent English stonemason recently stated to Mr G. W. Speth, "We choose a mark, and then if on our travels we find that some other mason uses a similar one, we alter ours in some slight particular."

their own callings; and the writer who is responsible for this statement asserts that this dialect is still in use among masons (though not exclusively confined to them) in the counties of Limerick, Clare, Waterford, and Cork.¹

Upon the question as to whether or not marks were heritable by descent from father to son, the highest authority on Scottish masonry says, "We have been able to discover in the Mary Chapel records only one instance of a craftsman having adopted his deceased father's mark."² Mr Lyon continues, "Whatever may have been their original signification as exponents of a secret language—a position which is assigned to them by some writers—there is no ground for believing that in the choice of these marks the sixteenth century masons were guided by any consideration of their symbolical quality, or of their relation to the propositions of Euclid."

A view which has been very generally received is, that the short-hand signatures or markings which masons have for centuries been in the habit of cutting on the stones wrought or hewn by them, may be all included in two classes: the false or blind mark of the apprentice, displaying an equal number of points, and the true mark of the fellow-craft or passed mason, consisting of an unequal number of points.³ Indeed, the late Mr E. W. Shaw, who had made a collection of 11,000 marks, professed his ability to discriminate between the marks of the master masons, fellow-crafts, and apprentices, and the "blind marks," as he termed them, of those hired to work, but who were not members of the guild.⁴ Two marks not unfrequently occur on the same stone, showing, according to one view, that it had been hewn by the apprentice and finished or passed as correct by the mason;⁵ and, in the opinion of other authorities, that the second mark belonged to the overseer.⁶ The Chevalier de Silva, in a memoir presented at a meeting of the Institute of British Architects,⁷ gave 522 marks from ancient buildings in Portugal, and the design of his paper was to show that the opinion of those who have believed that these marks have a masonic signification cannot for a moment be entertained. The Chevalier's strongest reason for this belief—although, as Mr Godwin well puts it, English archæologists hardly need any argument to convince them that the marks are not symbolical—is thus expressed: "Adepts were summoned from all parts to work at the buildings in Portugal; and as the works progressed but slowly, not only on account of the enormous size of the edifices, but more especially because cut stones of small dimensions were employed, and all buildings being constructed with stones faced on every side, the hand labour was greatly increased; the only means available to avoid this inconvenience and hasten the works, and at the same time to benefit the workmen, was to make them *cut the stones as piece-work*, according to the dimensions given and designs drawn by the architect. To enable pay-

¹ E. Fitzgerald, architect, *On Ancient Mason Marks at Youghal and Elsewhere; and the Secret Language of the Craftsmen of the Middle Ages in Ireland* (Kilkenny Archæological Society, vol. ii., new series, p. 67).

² Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, pp. 68, 69. *Cf. ante*, pp. 434, 436.

³ J. A. Smith, M.D. (Sec. Soc. Antiq. Scot.), *Exhibition of Mason Marks, Copied from Melrose Abbey, Dryburgh, Jedburgh, etc.* (Proceedings, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1863, vol. iv., p. 548).

⁴ The Rev. A. F. A. Woodford is my authority for this statement. It is to be regretted that Mr Shaw's contemplated work, "Historical Masonry," the publication of which was announced in the *Freemasons' Magazine* of April 18, 1868 (to contain 5700 Masons' marks), has never seen the light.

⁵ Dr J. A. Smith.

⁶ Didron, Godwin, and Papworth.

⁷ "Sur la véritable signification des signes qu'on voit Gravés sur les anciens Monuments du Portugal." This memoir was not printed in the "Sessional Papers," Royal Institute of British Architects, but has been sufficiently summarised by Mr Godwin (Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1863-69, p. 139).

ments to be made to so large a number of workmen without mistake, to know exactly those who had done the various duties assigned to them, the workmen shaped their blocks one after another, and, to avoid confusion in their work, were in the habit of marking each block with a given sign, as representing their signature, so as to show how much was due to them."

If, however, we admit the probability, or, as Mr Godwin expresses it, the *fact*, that the guilds adopted existing forms and symbols without considering the marks symbolical, we may yet believe that they owe their wide diffusion to the existence of associated guilds. "The general similarity which they present all over Europe, from, at any rate, the eleventh century to the sixteenth, and indeed to the present day," points, as Mr Godwin well observes, "to a common origin and continued transmission."

Inasmuch, indeed, as monograms or symbols were adopted in all countries from very early times as distinctive devices or "trade marks," whereby the work or goods of the owners or makers could be identified, it is fairly inferential that masons' marks have been brought more prominently under notice from the simple fact of their having been impressed upon more durable material than was the case with the members of other trades.

Merchants, ecclesiastics, and other persons of respectability, not entitled to bear arms, adopted "marks or notes of those trades and professions which they used,"¹ and merchants (for their more honour) were allowed to bear the first letters of their names and surnames interlaced with a cross." In the yard or garden of the convent of the Franciscans or Greyfriars, now called the *Howff*² of Dundee, may still be seen many tombstones ornamented with both armorial and mercantile emblems and monograms, those of burgesses bearing, in many instances, carvings of objects illustrative of their crafts or trades. Thus, the scissors or goose is found on the tomb of the tailor; the glove, on that of the skinner; the hammer and crown or anvil, on that of the blacksmith; the loom or shuttle, on that of the weaver; the compasses and square, on that of the mason; the expanded compasses or saw, on that of the wright, etc.

Some of the older monuments present the more interesting figures known as monograms or merchants' marks. Both are objects of high antiquity, particularly the monogram or cypher, which is formed of interlaced letters. Soon after the introduction of printing into England, both monograms and merchants' marks were pretty generally adopted, and placed by artists in the corners of paintings and engravings; by printers and publishers, on the first and last pages of the books they issued; and tradesmen in general used them, not only as signs or distinguishing marks over the doors of their shops, but as stamps and labels on the cloth or other goods in which they dealt.³

In two Statutes of uncertain date, one of which has been variously ascribed to the 51st year of Henry III. (1266) and the 13th of Edward I. (1285), and the other is stated in some copies to have been enacted in the 14th of Edward I. (1286), occur very early allusions to the custom or requirement of affixing a mark. The former of these laws ordains, that "every baker shall have a mark (*signum*) of his own for each sort of his bread,"⁴ and the latter,

¹ Favyn, *Le Théâtre d'honneur*, Paris, 1623 (Dictionary of Architecture—*Marks*).

² *Howff*, *houff*, or *hoif*, a haunt, a place of frequent resort (Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary).

³ A. Jervise, *Memorials of Angus and the Mearns*, 1861, pp. 193, 195-197. "Although these marks are to be seen in different parts of the country, perhaps no single place contains so many and such oddly designed specimens as the *Howff* of Dundee" (*Ibid.*, p. 197).

⁴ The Statutes of the Bakers of Rheims, 1681 (XVII.), order "that every baker shall have his different mark in perpetuity to mark his bread" (Archives Législatives de la ville de Rheims, tom. ii., pt. ii.—Collection de Documents

which, on a deficiency of freemen, allows "the best and most discreet bondsmen" to serve on an inquest, stipulates that "each shall have a seal" (*e ke checun eyt seal*).¹ In 1363, it was enacted, that every master goldsmith "shall have a mark by himself" (*un merche a par lui*), and set it to his work;² in 1389-90, "that the workers, weavers, and fullers shall put their seals (*lour signes*) to every cloth that they shall work";³ and in 1444-45, that no worsted weaver shall make any worsted, "except he put upon the same his sign."⁴ A similar duty was imposed upon workers in the precious metals, by the Statutes of Edward IV. and Henry VI. respectively. In 1477-78, it was ordained, "that things wrought of silver were to be marked with the Leopard's Head, and the workman's mark or sign (*marke ou signe*)";⁵ and in 1488-89, that "every fyner of golde and sylver put his severall merke upon such, to bere witnes the same to be true."⁶ In 1491, "the chief officer for the tyme beyng in every cite towne, or borough," was required to have "a speciall marke or seal, to marke every weight and mesure to be reformed."⁷ The last enactment in the reign of Henry VII., bearing upon this subject, has the singular title of *Pewtrcr's Walkyng*, and is levelled against travelling tinkers and traffickers in metal, the prototypes in fact of our modern "Marine Storedealer." They are described as "possessing deceivable and untrue beams and scales, whereof one of them would stand even with twelve pounds weight at one end against a quarter of a pound at the other end," and the law requires, "that the makers of all hollow wares of pewter, shall marke the same with [the] severall marks of their owne."⁸ The last statute I shall quote is of date 1531, and by it brewers were restrained from "occupying the mystery of a cooper," or making any vessel for the sale of beer, which, in all cases, were to be made "by the common artificers of coopers;" it being further enacted, "that every couper mark his vessell with his owne marke."⁹ In the City of London, by various ordinances, confirmed by the civic authorities, the blacksmiths (1372), bladesmiths (1408), and brasiers (1416), of London, were required "to use and put their own mark upon their own work."¹⁰

I. Although the first two rows of marks on the accompanying plate are taken from English buildings, with scarcely an exception, the same may be found in all parts of the world. The seven earliest numbers have been selected by Mr Godwin as the marks most widely used, which are to be met with in different countries. The hour-glass form (1) is perhaps the most common of all types, and whilst employed in nearly every land as a cypher by operative workmen, appears nevertheless in a large proportion of the ancient inscriptions and

Inédits sur l'Histoire de France). The Old Usages of Worcester (of the fourteenth century) require "that eucrych bakere habbe hys seal y-knowe vpon hys loff;" and the Ordinances of the same city, *temp. Edw. IV.* (1467), "that eucry tyller sett his propre marke vpon his tyle" (Smith, English Gilds, pp. 355, 399; see *ante*, pp. 149, 192).

¹ Statutes of the Realm, *Temp. Incert.*, vol. i., pp. 203, 211.

² 37 Edw. III., c. vii. See 2 Henry VI., c. xvii. (1428), where it is enjoined that in places where there is no touch, the goldsmith shall set his mark or sign.

³ 13 Rich. II., stat. I., c. xi.

⁴ *Sanz ceo qil metta sur son signe*: 23 Hen. VI., c. iii. Similarly in 1467, by the 7 Edw. IV., c. i., it was ordered that no worsted weaver of Norfolk should make worsted, "withouthe sette therupon his owen woven marc." By the same statute the wardens of this craft, if they found the worsteds "well and lawfully made," were also required to affix a "mark or token" (*signe ou token*).

⁵ 17 Edw. IV., c. i.

⁶ 4 Hen. VII., c. ii.

⁷ 7 Hen. VII., c. iii.

⁸ 19 Hen. VII., c. vi.

⁹ 23 Hen. VIII., c. iv. I am informed that in the city of London to this day the work of individual coopers can be distinguished by their marks. See *ante*, pp. 90, 146, 149, 192.

¹⁰ Riley, *Memorials of London*, pp. 361, 570, 626.

alphabets that have come down to us.¹ Many examples of this mark are given in the accompanying plate, of which perhaps the most curious is No. 100.

The letter **N** symbol which appears on the coins of the Ariarathes, a series of Persian kings who lived before Christ, is infinitely diversified. Of this an instance is presented in No. 44, a mark which we also find at Kilwinning Abbey, Canterbury, and other places, as well as amongst the Arab "Wasm," and upon gnostic gems. In this figure or letter Mr Dove thinks we have something like an equivalent for the sexual union of the **V** and the **A** on the feminine and masculine symbols of the Egyptians.²

The Vesica Piscis, which has been already referred to, was constantly used as a builder's emblem. Fort suggests that the fish was typified by ancient notions, and appropriated by the Christians with other Pagan symbols,³ but the origin, I apprehend, of this emblem, must be looked for in the Hindu sectarian marks, denoting the followers of Çiva and Parvati (93), which in their general form symbolise the female principle of nature. The trident is one of the attributes of Parvati, and this form (10) is of very frequent appearance in the east; two varieties are shown in the examples of Arab Wasm (105, 107), and others are to be found amongst the marks collected by Sir W. Ouseley and Mr Creed.⁴

II. The second line of marks is from Carlisle Abbey, selected from the 316 specimens published in the paper last cited. The fourth in this row (14) is a curious form, and unlike any other *English* mark that has come under my notice, though it possesses some affinity with Nos. 33 and 101, also with a mark of the Kilwinning lodge, given by Lyon at p. 67 of his history, and to a greater extent with one of the specimens from Jedburgh Abbey, published by Dr Smith. In a closely analogous symbol  or  formed out of lines set at various angles to each other, and intermingled with dots, which is frequently met with on gnostic gems, Bellermann professes to trace the sacred divining-lots—figures produced by the accidental juxtaposition of little sticks and balls.

III.⁵ This series exhibits some curious varieties of the hour-glass or "lama" form. No. 23, which also occurs at St Giles Church, Edinburgh, Furness Abbey, and elsewhere, is identical with No. 88.

IV.⁶ The Irish specimens present some novel features. The three first (31-33) in their general character resemble the Arab Wasm (XI.). No. 37 constitutes a type of itself, and the three right hand figures (38-40) are singularly unlike anything to be found in the collections before me.

V. The French examples are taken from the "Annales Archéologiques,"⁷ but ampler

¹ Cf. Runic Inscriptions from Carthage (*Archæologia*, vol. xxx., pl. iii.); and Von Hammer, *Ancient Alphabets Explained*, 1806, pp. 12, 24, 27, 32, 33, 45, 65, and 69. In a plate illustrative of Moor's *Hindu Pantheon* (14), Mahâdeva (or Çiva) is represented with an emblem of this form in his right hand.

² On Geometrical and other Symbols (*Builder*, June 6, 1863).

³ Early History of Freemasonry, p. 357.

⁴ Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, 1823, pl. lxxxii.; W. T. Creed, *Masons' Marks from Carlisle Abbey* (*Transactions, Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 1880).

⁵ This figure is to be found in the alphabet of Phœbas, the philosopher, who, according to Von Hammer (pp. 7, 37), "invented miraculous fumigations, marvellous compounds, talismans, and astrological tables. He also constructed the treasure chambers in the pyramids?"

⁶ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv., pl. iii. (Chalmers).

⁷ Kilkenny Archaeological Society, vol. ii., new series, p. 67 (Fitzgerald).

⁸ Tome ii., 1845, p. 250 (41-47); tome iii., p. 31, *Signes Lapidaires* (48-50).

MASONS' MARKS.

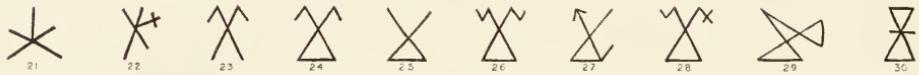
I - ENGLAND, - COMMON TYPES.



II - ENGLAND, - CARLISLE ABBEY



III - SCOTLAND - MELGUND CASTLE



IV - IRELAND, - YOUGHAL ST. MARY'S CHURCH



DOMINICAN FRIARY



V - FRANCE, - CHATEAU OF THE POPES, AVIGNON



CHATEAU OF VINCENNES



STRASSBURG & RHEIMS

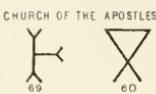


VI - GERMANY,

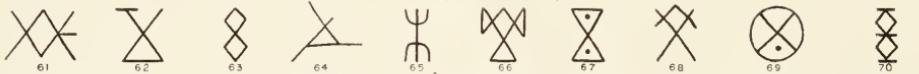


COLOGNE

CATHEDRAL



VII ST NINIAN'S LODGE BRECHIN, 1714 - 1847



STRASSBURG ARCHITECTS



MONOGRAMS & EMBLEMS

FROM THE HOWFF, DUNDEE

TELFORD'S TOOL MARK

IX - GERMAN STEINMETZEN



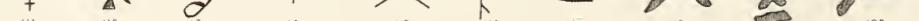
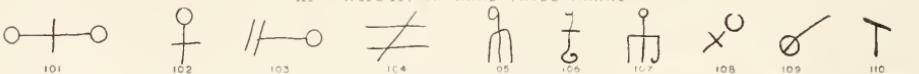
CARPENTER'S COMPANY

BRICKLAYERS' & TYLERS' COMPANY

X - HINLU SECTARIAL MARKS OR SYMBOLS



XI - WASM. OR ARAB TRIBE MARKS



varieties have been reproduced by Mr Godwin in the publications to which I have already referred.

VI.¹ The German types are abundantly illustrated by the collector upon whom I have drawn for the specimens annexed (51-60).² The fifth mark (55) in this row—a form of the figure 4—may be traced throughout many ramifications in the collections from which I have quoted. No. 56, a cross *cramponée*, or two intersecting straight lines with angled arms, is a noted Hindu symbol (98). It is also known as the Swastika and Fylfot, and a specimen appearing on a Roman altar in Alnwick Castle has been described by Lord Broughton as denoting the hammer or mace of the Scandinavian god, Thor. It is seen with Thor on various medals and on Runic monuments, and also occurs in the minster at Basle. With reference to the connection of the Scandinavians with Italy, Sir William Betham ("Etruria Celtica") shows an Etruscan coin with this symbol on it.³

Besides the Roman stones worked in rude patterns with the pick, either in straight lines, diamond pattern, or basket-work, as occasionally found on Hadrian's Wall, some are marked with a plain St Andrew's cross.⁴ Mr Bruce, when figuring some of the marks on Roman stones, thus⁵ remarks on those taken by Horsley to be numeral letters, denoting the number of the cohorts: "In all probability, the marks in question are the result of the caprice of the stonemasons. The editor has seen many examples of stones scored in the way which Horsley represents (some of which are shown in the woodcuts), but which he thinks partake more of the nature of masons' marks than of Roman numerals. Sometimes a simple cross will be observed, sometimes two parallel strokes, occasionally, as in Horsley's No. XVII., a 'broad arrow.' One of the examples which our great antiquary gives under No. XVI. is what masons call diamond broaching, and is very common. Stones thus scored occur chiefly in the separations of the wall and the stations. The stones used in Hadrian's original erection are severely plain."

The late Thomas Wright, M.A.,⁶ mentions that the "masons' marks are often found on Roman buildings, and resemble most closely those of the masons of the Middle Ages. Sometimes they consist of a letter, perhaps the initial of the mason's name, but they are more usually crosses, triangles, and other geometrical figures."

Though enough has been said to show that such were in use by the Romans in Britain, one more example may be quoted, if indeed it be a mason's mark. It is found on an altar at Habitancum, and dedicated to the goddess Fortuna by Julius Severinus, on the completion of a bath.⁷ The incised figure or mark resembles a cross *potent fitchée*, as a herald would call it, except that the crutch ends are only on the side-arms, the uppermost arms being a distinct cross, thus, 

The Romans also marked their building tiles, but for the most part with an inscription indicating the troops or officials by whom or under whose directions the buildings were erected.

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxx., pl. x. (Godwin).

² See *Transactions*, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1868-69 (Plate of Marks).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 136. See also Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, pl. ii.; Fort, *The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry*, pp. 238, 326; and King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, pl. xi., fig. 5, and pl. xiii. A, fig. 6.

⁴ J. Collingwood Bruce, *The Roman Wall*, 1867, p. 83.

⁵ *Lapidarium Septentrionale* (published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne), 1875, p. 39.

⁶ *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, 3d edit., 1875, p. 183.

⁷ Bruce, *The Roman Wall*, 1867, p. 335.

VII.¹ These are the marks of a lodge of *Freemasons*. Numerous examples of this class of cypher are given by Lyon in his noted work. An early instance of a "mason" who was not an operative being elected to rule over his brethren, is afforded by the records of the Lodge of Aberdeen, 1670, under which year appears the *mark* of Harry Elphingston, "Tutor of Airth and Collector of the Kinges Customes," master, or a past master, of the lodge. At the same date is found also the cypher of Maister Georg Liddell, "Professor of Mathematickes."²

VIII. The marks of the Strassburg architects are taken from the "Annales Archéologiques."³ The seal from which I have extracted figure No. 71 is described as that of "Pierre Bischof d'Algesheim, one of the master stone-cutters (*maîtres tailleurs de pierre*) who were received into the new brotherhood (*confrérie*) of the year 1464. Bischof, one of the chief promoters of this association, was afterwards master of the works (*maître-d'œuvre*) of the city" (Strassburg). The two following marks are those respectively of Masters Mark Wendlind and Laurent de Vedenheim. Nos. 75-79 are from monograms and emblems on tombstones at the *Howff* of Dundee. No. 75, which appears on a monument referring to the Mudie family, is identical with the craft cyphers of Scottish and German stonemasons (24, 83); and the anchor (76) fitly marks the last resting-place of a sailor. The 4 mark (77), differing but slightly from a cypher in St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh,⁴ is of date 1582. The marks of John and James Goldman, father and son, A.D. 1607, are represented in figure 78. Next follows the monogram of William Chaplane (79), from a monument erected in memory of his wife (1603).⁵

The last of this series is the cypher of Telford, the celebrated engineer, of whom Smiles records, that "many of the stones composing the bridge over the Esk, at Langholm, were hewn by his hand, and on several of the blocks forming the land-breast his tool-mark is still to be seen."⁶ Telford's mark is almost exactly presented in one of the alphabets, which the erudite Von Hammer *claims* to have rescued from oblivion,⁷  Yet probably no one would be more astonished than the worthy engineer, were he still amongst us, to hear of the similarity.

IX. The fourth mark of the *Steinmetzen* is taken from Heimsch,⁸ the preceding ones from Stieglitz.⁹ For those of the Carpenters I am indebted to the obliging clerk of that company, Mr Preston, who allowed me to copy them; No. 85, the mark of John Fitzjohn, master, 1573, from a book of that date; and the others from a handsomely carved mantelpiece, of 1579, erected during the mastership of Thomas Harper (86) and the wardenship of Anthonie Bear (87). The marks of the Tylers and Bricklayers are from Mr Godwin's collection.

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv., pl. iv. (Chalmers).

² *Ante*, chap. viii. ("Lodge of Aberdeen," No. 34).

³ *Artistes du Moyen Age : Sceaux et Marques des Architectes de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg* (71-73), tome viii., p. 187. "Sur le premier de ces trois Sceaux (71) la marque se compose de la Croix, toujours placée verticalement au milieu de l'écu, et de l'équerre posée au bas, de telle manière que la branche courte est tournée vers le haut" (*Ibid.*, tome v., 1846, p. 272)—*Monogrammes Écussions des Architectes Allemands*—74).

⁴ Lyon, *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, plate facing p. 67, fig. 3.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 55, and plates of marks (St Giles and Mother Kilwinning).

⁶ Life of Thomas Telford, 1867, p. 116. In 1786, Telford, writing from Portsmouth, "states that he is taking great interest in Freemasonry, and is about to have a lodge-room at the George Inn, fitted up after his plans and under his direction" (*Ibid.*, p. 129).

⁷ Von Hammer, *The Alphabets of the Seven Planets*, sec. v., pp. 10, 51.

⁸ *Craft Customs of the Ancient Stonehewers*, trans. by G. W. Speth (Masonic Monthly, July 1882).

⁹ C. L. Stieglitz, *Über die Kirche der Heiligen Kunigunde*, Leipzig, 1829, appendix iii.

X.¹ The Hindu symbols present many forms with which Freemasons are familiar. The U figure (92) occurs very frequently in Spain, and has also been copied by Sir W. Ouseley from an ancient palace near Ispahan.² In others the sexual origin of all things is indicated (93-97), the most prevalent being the equilateral triangle. The Hexalpha (95) represents the two elements in conjunction; and with a right angle bisected by a line (97), worshippers of Sacti, the Female principle, mark their sacred jars, as in like manner the votaries of Isis inscribed the sacred vase of their goddess before using it at her rites.³ The latter symbol, which is to be found in the Lycian and other alphabets, and also corresponds with the broad arrow, used to denote Crown property, formed one of the apprentice "marks" in the "Lodge of Aberdeen," 1670, and occurs in all countries where masons' marks are perceptible.

The Rose (99) is uncommon, yet amongst the weapons belonging to the stone period found in Denmark are many flint mallets, cross-shaped, presenting this appearance, with a hole at the intersection for the haft to be inserted.⁴ An exact counterpart of the Hindu symbol was found by Hughan in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral; but with these two exceptions, the mark under examination is, so far as I am aware, unknown to western collectors. The last three specimens in this line (98-100) are rare forms of the Hindu sectarian marks, and belong rather to certain great families than to religious sects.

XI. These *graffitti*, or scratchings, are characters adopted by Arabs to distinguish one tribe from another, and commonly used for branding the camels on the shoulders and haunches, by which means the animals may be recovered, if straying, and found by Arabs not hostile to the owners. They are found also scratched upon the walls in many places frequented by Bedawin, as, for instance, in the ruined convents, churches, etc., on the plain of the Jordan, and occasionally, as at Amman, several such cyphers are united into one complex character.⁵ The custom, however, has many interpretations. According to some, it denotes the terminus of a successful raid; others make it show where a dispute was settled without bloodshed; but as a rule it may be regarded as an expression of gratitude.⁶ Captain Burton says, "that the *Wasm* in most cases showed some form of a cross, which is held to be a potent charm by the Sinaitic Bedawin," and is further of opinion that the custom is dying out.

Describing the ruins of Al Hadhr, Mr Ainsworth observes: "Every stone, not only in the chief buildings, but in the walls and bastions and other public monuments, when not defaced by time, is marked with a character, amongst which were very common the ancient mirror and handle, ♀ (102, 108), emblematical of Venus, the Mylitta of the Assyrians, and Alitta of the Arabians, according to Herodotus; and the Nani of the Syrians."⁷ The last cypher (110) is styled by Burton, the "Camel stick."

XII. The examples of compound marks are mainly taken from Mr Godwin's collection;⁸ the Scottish specimen is from the plate attached to Dr Smith's paper, already referred to; and

¹ Moor, Hindu Pantheon, pl. ii.

² Travels in Various Countries of the East, 1823, pl. lxxii.

³ Dr Barlow, Symbolism in Reference to Art (Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1859-60, p. 97); King, The Gnostics and their Remains, p. 176.

⁴ Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 278.

⁵ James Finn, Byways in Palestine, 1868, Appendix A, pp. 453, 454 (101-103).

⁶ R. F. Burton, The Land of Midian, 1879, vol. i., p. 320; vol. ii., p. 156.

⁷ W. F. A. Ainsworth, Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, etc., 1842, vol. ii., p. 167.

⁸ Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1868-69, pp. 135-144 (111-116).

the three last figures, from a recent work.¹ M. da Silva thought, " that the second mark, added to the special sign used by them, was always the same for an entire family, these marks being usually a zero, O; a triangle, Δ; a disc, ⊖; or a small cross, +."

In the examples given from Portugal and Spain the second mark is chiefly a circle, but in England the N form and the acute angle, <, have by Mr Godwin been generally found to be so used. This careful observer has met with four stones in one wall, nearly close together, each bearing two marks, whilst no two of the eight marks were alike.

Mr Ainsworth says that the marks at Al Hadhr were carefully sculptured, one in the *centre of every stone*, but as a general rule the cyphers are traced without any regard to uniformity or position. At the Mosque and Reservoir at Bozrah Mr Merrill noticed many stones with marks upon them, but there were only four varieties: (1.) ♂ was on those of the north wall; (2.) ⚡ on those of the east wall; (3.) O on those of the south wall; (4.) ⚡ on those of the west wall. In the west wall he counted upwards of one hundred and sixty stones which had this mark. It is singular and noteworthy that many of the stones, however, bore no mark at all.

That workmen have been accustomed to mark the product of their labour from very early times, is indisputable. In default of stone, the Chaldeans used bricks, sometimes of unbaked clay hardened by the heat of the sun. The curious archaic characters, with which they stamped on the bricks the name of the king who built the temple, and the name of the god or goddess to whom it was dedicated, taken separately, might very well pass for masons' marks of a later age. Like the Chaldeans, the Assyrians, in all probability, stamped the inscription upon their bricks with a solid stamp. But, unlike the Chaldeans, who impressed the characters on a small square near the centre of the broad faces of the bricks, the writing of the Assyrians either covered the whole face or else ran along the edge.

The Babylonians, like the early Chaldeans, seem to have almost entirely used bricks in their constructions, and like them impressed the inscription on the broad face of the brick, in a square, with a solid stamp.

The Egyptians stamped their bricks with the cartouche of the king, or with the name and titles of a priest or other influential person.² A number of these marks are figured by Rifaud, and represent hieroglyphic characters, numerals, etc. They are supposed to date from about the fourth dynasty, and the marks were traced upon the bricks with the finger. The bricks bearing cartouches impressed with a stamp date from the eighteenth dynasty; but we must not forget the masons' marks, scrawled in red pigment, within the great pyramid, the cartouche of King Cheops, etc., etc.

In the fifth dynasty, the porcelain tiles were marked on the back with numerals, to facilitate their arrangement; and those found at Tel-el-Yahoudeh bear on the back both hieroglyphics and, in some instances, Greek letters.

Each Roman brick-maker had his mark, such as the figure of a god, a plant, or an animal, encircled by his own name, often with the name of the place, of the consulate, or the owner of the kiln or brickfield.³ No marks of this kind have been observed on any brick or tile

¹ Selah Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 1881, pp. 55, 151.

² *Voyage en Egypte*, etc., 1830-36, Paris, pl. lxxxviii.-xc. Cf. also Lepsius, *Denkmäler*; and S. Birch, *D.C.L.*, etc., *History of Ancient Pottery*, edit. 1873, pp. 9-14, etc.

³ Seroux d'Agincourt, *Rec. de Fragmens*, pp. 82-88; Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities—later*.

found at York, though many of these have the inscription, *Leg. vi.*, or *Vie.*, or *Leg. ix.*, *His.* or *Hisp.*, stamped upon them. In the same city, however, several fragments of amphore have been discovered, from which it appears that the name of the potter was commonly stamped on one of the handles or the neck. This vessel was used for holding olives, oil, or honey, but especially wine.¹

An eloquent writer has described the finding of masons' marks at Jerusalem as one of their "capital discoveries," coming upon the explorers "like flashes of morning light."² Emanuel Deutsch arrived in Jerusalem while the shaft was open, and went down it to inspect this record of his race. In the port of Sidon he afterwards found marks of the same kind, and after careful weighing of the evidence, came to the following conclusions: (1.) The marks on the temple stones are Phœnician; (2.) they are quarry-signs, not writings or inscriptions.

As Herod employed Greek artisans, who knew nothing of Phœnician letters and numerals, Mr Hepworth Dixon is probably right in alluding to the "masons' marks" as "one of their capital discoveries," because, as he contends, "in the first place, they settle the question of whether the work was Solomonic or Herodean;"³ and in the second place, they prove the literary accuracy of the text in Kings, that workmen from Tyre were employed in quarrying these stones for the Temple wall. Josephus gives two accounts of Solomon's buildings on the Temple hill, and these accounts unhappily disagree, which has led Lewin to the charitable conclusion that the Jewish historian made his first statement before he had studied his subject with much care. "A difficulty is admitted," says Mr Dixon, "but our discovery removes suspicion from the sacred text, 'Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders did hew them.' In the presence of our Phœnician marks, it is impossible to doubt that Hiram's builders did also help to hew these stones."⁴

In inquiries of this character we cannot be too careful not to confound what may be the effect of chance or idle amusement, with letters or syllabic characters. Mr Truter relates, that in the southern extremity of Africa, among the Betjuanas, he saw children busy in tracing on a rock, with some sharp instrument, characters, which bore the most perfect resemblance to the P and the M of the Roman alphabet; notwithstanding which, these rude tribes were perfectly ignorant of writing.⁵ Probably nothing would have more astonished the workmen of past ages, than the interpretation which has been placed on their ancient signatures. For any practicable purpose, collections of marks are alone valuable in determining whether the same workmen were employed, to any great extent, upon buildings in the same countries. To settle this point, the resemblance between the most frequently recurring marks, should be carefully noted. To do this effectually, however, many thousand specimens would have to be collated, and it seems more than probable that until a successor to the late Mr Shaw, in zeal and

¹ Wellbeloved, *Eboracum*; or, York under the Romans, pp. 118, 121. See also Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities*, s.v. *Fictile*. Many inscriptions on Roman tiles and pottery are given by Dr Brich in the appendix to his work.

² W. Hepworth Dixon, "Underground Jerusalem," *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1876.

³ "On the east wall, at the very base, Captain Warren discovered stones with ancient Hebrew letters in red paint, and these have been thought by some to show that the masonry must of necessity be the work of Solomon. This character was, however, in common use as late as the time of Herod, and the discovery only serves to show that the wall is not later than Jewish times" (Lieutenant C. R. Conder, "The High Sanctuary of Jerusalem," *Good Words*, October 1881). Captain Warren's excavations (referred to by Mr Hepworth Dixon) were carried out during the years 1867-69. Lieutenant Conder was his successor in Palestine, and continued occasional researches during the years 1873-75.

⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1876, p. 491.

⁵ Cited in *Humboldt's Researches*, vol. i., p. 154.

assiduity, arises, no comprehensive study of "Masons' Marks," or, as Mr King styles them, "enigmatical symbols," will be either practicable or desirable. Many communications on this subject, accompanied in some instances by tracings or copies of marks, have been published in the "Builder," and in the Masonic Journals; of these, the disquisition by Mr Dove in the former (1863), and the papers of the late Dr Somerville¹ in the latter, will well repay perusal. In the *Keystone* (Philadelphia) of January 19, 1878, reference is made to Dr Back's collection of stone marks copied by him from German churches and other edifices, but of this work there is no copy in the British Museum or other libraries to which I have had access.

¹ Ancient Masons' Marks (Freemasons' Quarterly Magazine, 1851, p. 450; 1852, p. 316).

CHAPTER X.

THE QUATUOR CORONATI.

THE FOUR CROWNED OR FOUR HOLY MARTYRS.

HE history, legendary or otherwise, of the four patron saints of the mediaeval building trades must always possess a peculiar interest for the masonic body, even though it be impossible fairly to deduce those arguments which some have sought to derive from it. This, together with the confusion and obscurity that exists on the subject, a confusion and obscurity which arose almost immediately after the martyrdom itself, will, I trust, be my excuse for entering somewhat more into detail than the importance of the subject, as bearing upon masonic history, may at first sight seem to warrant.

The outline of the story may be told in a very few words. Four officers of the Roman Imperial Court and five sculptors were martyred for their faith in Christianity, in the reign, and apparently by the direct orders of Diocletian, and were interred in the same spot on the Via Labicana, a little outside Rome, on the road to Præneste. The names of the five having in process of time become forgotten, it was ordered that the entire nine should bear the appellation of the Four Crowned or Holy Martyrs (although it was always known that there were two distinct sets of martyrs). The names of the five were subsequently recovered, but the whole nine still retained the original title, and the church, built over their relics, and to which the bodies of other saints were subsequently removed, thus forming a kind of Christian Pantheon, after having been more than once destroyed and rebuilt, subsists to the present day. Hence has arisen a certain amount of confusion, the names of the martyrs and the priority of the respective martyrdoms having been occasionally mistaken the one for the other, while it happens strangely enough that the *four* officers of the Imperial Court have become the patron saints of the building trades instead of the *five* sculptors as in strict propriety it should have been, while the *trade or profession* of the five has survived under the name of the four. This confusion has, as we shall see in the sequel, been somewhat further increased by the fact of the names of one or two of them having been common to other martyrs with whom they had no real connection.

The first mention of these martyrs occurs in some of the ancient martyrologies, the earliest of which now extant, that of St Jerome, was written about A.D. 400. After this, at a considerable interval, come those of Beda, 730; Florus, 830; Wandelbertus, 844; Hrabanus Maurus,

845; Ado, 858; the Romanum Parvum, 873; Usuardus, 875; and Notker, 894. Besides these, there are for the Greek Church the work of Simon Metaphrastes, and the Greek Menæon, which have, as dealing with the oriental legends, no immediate interest for us. Among the former, at least Bede, Wandelbertus, Ado, Usuardus, and Notker, mention the legend now under consideration. All these notices are of the briefest.

Gregory the Great—1073-1085—in his “*Sacramentary*,” has the following for their feast day:—

“These are the names of the four crowned martyrs, Severus, Severianus, Victorinus, and Carpophorus, the day of whose martyrdom having been neglected through carelessness and been forgotten, it was decreed that the celebration of their martyrdom should take place in the church of those five martyrs whose names are celebrated in the mass, so that their memory—*i.e.*, of the *four*—should be honoured at the same time as that of the others—*i.e.*, the five.

“VI. IDES OF NOV. (9TH). MARTYRDOM OF THE FOUR CROWNED ONES.

“Be pleased, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, that we, acknowledging the constant faith of the glorious martyrs, Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphorianus, Castorius, may reap the benefits of their holy intercession in Thy presence, for Jesus Christ’s sake. Amen.

“*At the Oblation.*

“Let Thy bountiful blessing, O Lord, and may our gifts be acceptable in Thy sight, through the intercession of Thy Saints, and may it be unto us a sacrament of redemption for Jesus Christ’s sake. Amen.

“*Preface—before receiving the Sacrament.*

“It is very meet, right, just, and salutary that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Everlasting God, when we celebrate the Passion of Thy Holy Crowned Martyrs, since while we magnify the glory of Thy name, through them we may grow in the increase of our faith through Jesus Christ. Amen.

“*After receiving the Sacrament.*

“Being refreshed with the heavenly sacraments, we do beseech Thee, O Lord God, as suppliants, that of those whose triumphs we celebrate, by their help we may be sustained through Jesus Christ, His sake. Amen.”

The Roman Martyrology (date uncertain):—

“The octave is the Passion at Rome, on the Via Lavicana, at the third milestone from the city (at the North East on the road leading to Preneste) of the holy martyrs, Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphorianus, Castorius, and Simplicius, who, having been first imprisoned, were then most severely scourged, and since their faith in Christ could not be shaken, were thrown headlong into the river (Tiber) by order of Diocletian. Also on the Via Lavicana occurred the martyrdom of the four holy Crowned brothers, Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus, and Victorinus, who were beaten to death with scourges loaded with lead by order of the same Emperor. But since their names, which after a subsequent lapse of years were revealed by God, could not be found, it was decreed that their anniversary, together with that of the other five, should be celebrated under the title of the Four Crowned Ones, which custom was continued in the Church even after their names had been revealed.”

Next in chronological order comes the Golden Legend of Jacobus à Voragine, which may be termed the loveliest collection of mediaeval sacred fairy tales, although the subjoined account is very inferior to most of those which have been described or adorned by his pen.

¹ "The four crowned ones were Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus, and Victorinus. They were beaten to death by order of Diocletian, with whips armed with lead.² Their names were lost for many years until discovered by a revelation from on high, and it was therefore ordered that their memory should be honoured with those of the five other martyrs, Claudius, Castorius, Nicostratus, Symphorianus, and Simplicius, who suffered two years after the martyrdom of the former. These exercised the sculptors' art, and as they refused to sculpture an idol commanded by Diocletian, or to sacrifice to false gods, they were by command of the same Emperor enclosed alive in leaden coffers and thrown into the sea in the year of Our Lord 287. They were honoured with the other four martyrs whose names had been forgotten, and whom Pope Melchiades (or Milthiades, 310-314) ordered to be designated under the title of the Four Crowned Ones, and when later their names became known the above denomination continued in use."

We now come to the various Breviaries, that of Rome of course ranking first. The date of the one I have used is the "Breviarium secundum usum Romanum Venet, 1477," but the sources from which it has been compiled must be far older. I may as well say, once for all, that the Breviaries took their origin in the earliest times, and gradually grew and expanded, varying in different places and countries until Pius V, by a Bull dated July 1568, published one authorised version which has ever since been continued to be enforced to the exclusion of all others.³ The legend is as follows:—

"In Sanctorum Martyrum Quatuor Coronatorum."

"Prayer.

"Grant, Oh God, that the glorious martyrs, Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphorianus, Castorius, and Simplicius, whom we acknowledge as steadfast in their faith, may intercede for us with Thee.

"I. It came to pass, that when the Emperor Diocletian journied to Pannonia, in order that in his presence metals might be taken from the rocks; that when he had assembled together all the masters in metals, he found among them men endowed with great experience in the art—Claudius, Castorius, Symphorianus, and Nicostratus, who were marvellously learned in the art of cutting stone (*in arte quadrataria*—*quadrataciā*, 1518—). These men were secretly Christians, who observed the commands of God, and did all things which as sculptors they executed, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.

"II. It came to pass, however, that, one day, by command of the Emperor Diocletian, the artificers were preparing to make a statue of the Sun-god with his four horses, and all things thereunto belonging, the chariot and the horses out of Thasian stone.⁴ At the same time when all the artificers and philosophers were meditating thereupon, the former began to speak in dissenting terms.

"III. And when they had found a great block of Thasian stone, they did not think it fit for the statue, according as the Emperor Diocletian had commanded, and for many days

¹ Opus Aureum, etc., Lugdini, 1519. Small folio.

² A classic cat-o'-nine-tails, technically termed "a scorpion," balls of lead being substituted for knots.

³ Rev. W. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanæ*, 1846, vol. ii., p. xxi.

⁴ Marble from the island of Thasos, near the mouth of the Danube, highly prized for statuary.

thereafter a great contention arose between the artificers and the philosophers (masters of the work and native masters, 1518).¹ However, on a certain day, all the artificers (622 in number), and the five philosophers, assembled together in order to examine the structure of the stone and the veins thereof, and there arose a prodigious contention between the artificers and the philosophers.

“IV. Then began the philosophers to dispute with Claudius, Symphorianus, and Simplicius, and said, ‘Wherefore obey ye not, with your skill, the commands of the most devout Emperor Diocletian, and fulfil not his desire?’ Claudius answered and said, ‘Because we may not blaspheme Our Creator and sin against him, because we may not be found guilty in his sight.’ Then said unto them the philosophers, ‘Hence it seemeth that ye are Christians;’ and Castorius answered and said, ‘Verily we are Christians.’

“V. Then the philosophers chose other artificers and stone cutters (*artifices quadratarios*), and caused them to make a statue of Asclepius out of the Proconnesian stone, which was brought unto the philosophers after thirty-one days. Thereupon the philosophers informed the Emperor Diocletian that the statue of Asclepius was finished, and he straightways commanded that it should be brought before him that he might look upon it. When he beheld the statue he marvelled much, and said, ‘Verily, this is a testimony of the skill of those who have our approbation in the art of sculpture.’

“VI. Then the philosophers said, ‘Most sacred Emperor, know that those whom your majesty has declared to be most learned in the art of cutting stone, Claudius, Symphorianus, Nicostratus, Simplicius, and Castorius, are Christians, and by their magic words subiect the human race.’ Diocletian said unto them, ‘If they may not obey the commands of the law, and if the charges of your accusation be true, then may they suffer the penalty of the law’ (*sacrilegii*).

“VII. Then Diocletian, in consideration of their skill, commanded the tribune Lampadius, and said, ‘If they will not offer sacrifices to the Sun-god, then take them and scourge them with stripes and scorpions; but if they will consent, then lead them to submission.’ Five days afterwards Lampadius sat in judgment in that place, and commanded the herald to summon them before him, and showed them terrible things, and all sorts of instruments of martyrdom. When they had entered, he turned to them and said, ‘Hearken unto me, and avoid martyrdom, and be submissive and friendly to the noble prince, and sacrifice to the Sun-god, for hereafter I may not speak unto you in gentle words.’

“VIII. Claudius and his fellows answered with great confidence, ‘This may the Emperor Diocletian know, that verily we are Christians, and turn not aside from the worship of our God.’ Exasperated at this reply, the tribune Lampadius commanded them to be stripped naked and scourged with scorpions, while the herald proclaimed, ‘Ye shall not contemn the commands of the prince!’ In that same hour Lampadius was seized with an evil spirit; he was rent asunder with cramps, and died in his chair of judgment.

“IX. When his wife and household heard these things, they ran to the philosophers with a great outcry, so that it came to the ears of Diocletian; and when he heard of the occurrence, he said, ‘Make leaden coffins, put them alive into the same, and cast them into the river.’ Thereupon Nicetius, a senator (*toatus*), a coadjutor of Lampadius, did that which Diocletian had commanded. He caused leaden coffins to be made, put them alive therein, and ordered them to be cast into the river.”

¹ Referring, as in *Lectio I.*, to Wog's translation of this year.

Here ends the legend in the "Breviary Romanum," 1477. The edition of 1474 agrees exactly with the above up to *Lection III*, but varies slightly in the concluding portion. The translation of the Romish German Breviary by Jacob Wog, Venice, 1518, likewise agrees with the above version, with the exception of two passages noted in the text (I., III.), and concludes with the following additional paragraph:—

"When, however, the holy Cyril heard these things, being in prison, he was filled with grief because of the death of these saints, and departed thus from this world to the Lord."

The "Breviary Spirense," 1478, varies as follows:—

"IV. Claudius, Castorius, Nicostratus, and Simphorianus, ingenious artists in the art of cutting stone and sculpture (*miraefici quadrandi et sculpendi artifices*), being secretly Christians, obeyed the commands of God, and made all their work in the name of Christ. A certain Simplicius, who was also experienced in the same art, marvelled much at their skill and works, for they surpassed all the architects of the Emperor, who were six hundred and twenty-two in number. He was himself still a pagan, and when he worked with them his work succeeded not, but his own tools broke daily. Therefore he said unto Claudius, 'I pray thee, sharpen my tools, so that they break not.' Claudius took the tools into his hands, and said, 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, be this iron strong and proper for the work.' From that hour Simplicius finished everything that belonged to the *ars quadrataria* with his iron tools, as did the others, and brought it to completion.

"V. He then asked Symphorianus in what manner he had sharpened them, for the edge of his tools never broke, as had previously been the case. Symphorianus and Castorius answered and said, 'God, who is the Creator and Lord of all things, has made His creation strong.' Simplicius asked, 'Has not god Zeus done this?' Then answered Claudius, and said, 'Repent, my brother, for you have blasphemed God, who has created all things, and whom we acknowledge; but we do not acknowledge as God him whom our hands have made.' With these, and words like unto them, they converted Simplicius to the faith of Christ, so that he, despising all the images of the gods, went with them to the Bishop Cyril of Antioch, who was then lying bound in prison, because of the name of Christ, and had for three years been tortured by many blows, in order to be baptised by him. When they were returned, and he had again resumed his task, they all laboured together, and made the sign of the cross in the name of Christ, while they worked. They were, however, accused by the philosophers of being Christians, because they would not make a statue of Asclepius of marble, as the emperor had commanded; whereupon, Diocletian, full of rage, spoke, 'Make leaden coffers, and shut them up alive therein, and cast them into the river.' But Nicodemus, a Christian, after forty-two days, raised the chests and the bodies and brought them to his house.

"VI. The four crowned martyrs were so called, because their names were not known. For when Diocletian commanded that all should sacrifice to Asclepius, who was called the god of health, because he had been a good physician, these four refused; whereupon they were scourged to death with leaden scourges, and their bodies cast into the streets to be devoured by dogs. So they laid five days, and were then buried by St Sebastian and the Bishop Melchiades. Their names were afterwards revealed as follows:—Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus, Victorianus; before which time, however, the holy Melchiades ordained that the anniversary of their martyrdom should be kept on the same day with that of the holy

Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphorianus, Castorius, and Simplicius, who were cast into the river in leaden coffins."

According to the "Breviarium secundum consuetudinem domus Hospitalis Hierosolymitanus Sancti Johannis;" Spiræ, 1495, the bodies were raised after five days, and secretly interred in the Via Lavitana by St Sebastian.

In the "Breviarium Ultrajectense" (Utrecht), Venet, 1497, we find the legend much the same as in the "Breviarium Romanum," but considerably more briefly narrated. Lampadius executes the five martyrs, and dies suddenly. Forty days afterwards Nicodemus raises the coffins and buries them in his house. Then follows:—

II. "Eleven months afterwards Diocletian ordered a temple to be erected to Asclepius in the Thermae Trajani, and a statue of the god to be made of Proconnesian stone. As all the people were commanded to sacrifice, there were present several tribunes (*cornicularii*). When their opposition was made known to the Emperor Diocletian, he ordered them to be slain with leaden scourges, before the statue of the god. After they had been scourged for a long time, they gave up the ghost."

The III. and last *Lectio* agrees with the VI. of the "Breviarium Spirens." The precise date of the martyrdom is given in the "Modus orandi secundum ecclesiam Heribolensem," 1450, which states, "that these holy martyrs suffered for the name of God in the year 287, on the 8th day of Nov." (*sextu ydus Novembris*). But more than one date is current, and the two martyrdoms occurred at an interval of eleven months, or, according to some authorities, two years.¹ The account given by Baronius in his "Annales Ecclesiastici" runs as follows:—

"A.D. 303. To these (other martyrs previously cited) were added the five martyrs, Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphorianus, Castorius, and Simplicius, who were followed to the martyrs' crown two years after by Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus, and Victorinus, who excelled in the art of statuary. For they, having refused on the ground of their Christianity to carve images of the gods, were first beaten with scorpions, and finally, being enclosed in leaden coffins (*loculis plumbis*), were thrown alive into the river on the 8th Nov., on which day they are entered on the lists of the Holy Martyrs, by reason of their famous memory; on which day also is kept the celebration of the finding of their bodies. It is remarkable how the art of statuary decayed through the ever increasing members of the Christians; for the possessors of this art having been almost without exception converted to Christianity, held it disgraceful to consider as gods the things which they had fashioned with their hands, and preferred to die rather than that they should sculpture gods or things dedicated to gods. Hence the art of statuary, being deprived of almost all its followers, came to, and remained in, a state of complete collapse; a proof of which may be clearly and plainly seen by all, in those statues which still exist at Rome, and which are obviously of rude workmanship, very inferior to those of the (true) ancients. To give but one example out of many, we may refer to those which all can see at Rome on the triumphal arch which shortly after this martyrdom Constantine erected to celebrate his victory over Maxentius, and which, on account of the dearth of sculptors, was obliged to be mainly constructed from portions of the memorials of Trajan, Marcus Aurelius,

¹ Some portions of the above would almost seem to point to an operative masonic influence. That such should exist in Germany I can understand, but not its existing at Rome. What is said in the beginning about the philosophers seems to show that at the commencement of the sixteenth century the distinction between mason and architect was already fully recognised.

and other noble monuments of the city, while the remaining figures which were carved at the time are so rude and shapeless as—if we may use a poetic simile—to appear, when compared with the others, like the neck of a horse joined on to the head of a man.”¹

The above statement as to the inferiority of late sculpture is perfectly true. It is usually referred to the general degeneracy of the times, but still the reasons given by Baronius are weighty.

The other great, and in some respects greater, ecclesiastical historian, Tillemont, has—

“The martyrs called by the name of the Four Crowned Ones are famous in the Church, but as regards their history, we have nothing but what is written in the ‘Martyrologies,’ and in the Acts of SS. Symphorian, Claudius, Castor, Nicostratus, and Simplicius, whose authority is at the best but very middling (*fort mediocre*). All concur in saying that they (the four) were officers attached to the prefect of Rome, and named respectively Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus (*sic*), and Victorinus, who, having refused to sacrifice, were condemned by Diocletian to be beaten to death with scourges armed with lead.

“This festival is marked for the 8th Nov. in the ‘Martyrologies’ of Jerome, Bede, and others of later date. It is also found in the ‘Sacramentary’ of St Gregory, in the Roman missal of Thomasius, and in the ‘Calendar’ of Father Fronto. In these three last, and in Bede, they are only mentioned by the name of the Four Crowned Ones. We find also the same saints on the 7th and 8th August in the ‘Calendar’ of Bucherius, and in the ‘Martyrologies’ of St Jerome, save that the first is called Secundus or Secundinus, and not Severus. It is stated that their festival was held at Albano, on the road to Ostia, where their bodies reposed.² There was at Rome a *Title* (church from which a title was derived) and a church of the Four Crowned Ones, and it still exists (1698). It was the station of the fifth Monday in Lent. Anastasius says that Pope Honorius built and dedicated a church in their name; and that Leo IV., having found their bodies about the year 849, rebuilt their church, which was falling into ruin, and placed their bodies under the altar, together with those of several other martyrs.”³

The account given by the hagiographer Surius is the most copious of its kind that I have met with. Mombrutius I have not seen. It is apparently derived from the same source as those in the Breviaries, which it much resembles, if, indeed, it be not the source itself, for Surius, although he wrote considerably later, yet derived his materials from, or rather reprinted, the most ancient and authentic lives whenever he was fortunate enough to find any. His account is as follows:—

“The martyrdom of S.S. Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphorianus, Castorius, and Simplicius, and also of the Four Crowned saints, from the ‘Martyrology’ of Ado, who compiled the story which, up till then, had existed in various manuscripts, and which was until then obscure in many places and abounding in falsehoods.

“A.D. 290. I. Rome is the scene of the martyrdom of the holy martyrs Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphorianus, Castorius, and Simplicius, under the reign of Diocletian and Maximian. These men being very famous workmen, and marble workers of the first reputation, stood very high in

¹ Annales Ecclesiastici cum Antonii Pagii critica; Luccæ, 1738-46, vol. iii., p. 365.

² This, *pace* Tillemont, is a confusion, as we shall presently see.

³ Mémoires pour servir à l’Hist. Eccl. des six premières Siècles; par M. Le Nain de Tillemont, 2d edit., Paris, 1701-1712, 16 vols. 4to.

the esteem of Diocletian.¹ Hence, when on a certain occasion they were at work carving marble, and hallowed their labours with the sign of the cross, that the work might turn out according to their wishes, one of them, Simplicius, who was still hampered with the errors of paganism, said to the other four, 'I adjure you by the Sun-god, tell us who is that God in whose name you work so well.' To whom Symphorianus answered, 'If you are able to believe, we will tell you, and soon you will not only be able to follow the art as well as we do, but you will also be able to obtain everlasting life.' The blessed Cyril confirmed him in the faith to their satisfaction, and then baptised him, and declared that he believed in Christ the Lord.

"II. Not long afterwards they were accused by the philosophers of being Christians, and because they refused to carve a statue of the god *Æsculapius* out of porphyry and serpentine (Proconessian) as the Emperor had ordered them, he directed a certain tribune named Lampadius to hear them with moderation. 'To whom,' said Lampadius, 'adore the Sun deity in order that you may baffle the designs of these philosophers.' To whom they replied, 'We will never adore the work of our own hands, but we adore the God of Heaven and earth, who rules for all eternity, Jesus Christ, the Son of God.' They were on this relegated to the public prison. From whence, since they refused to change their faith in Christ, they were brought, stripped by order of Lampadius, and most severely beaten with leaden scourges. Shortly afterwards Lampadius, being seized by devils, expired. When Diocletian heard this, he was filled with intense rage, and ordered one Nicetius, an officer of rank, to see them shut up in leaden chests, and in this fashion thrown into the river. Forty-two days after, a certain Nicodemus, a Christian, came and raised the bodies of the martyrs in these leaden chests, and deposited them honourably in his house. They were martyred on the sixth of the Ides of November (Nov. 8th).

"IV. It is also the day of martyrdom of the Four Crowned ones, that is, of Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus, and Victorinus. These men, on being urged to sacrifice, struggled against it, and by no means yielding their consent to the wishes of the impious, persevered in the faith. But on this being told to the Emperor Diocletian, he immediately ordered them to be beaten to death with scourges loaded with lead, before the shrine of *Æsculapius* (*Asclepius*), and that their bodies should be thrown to dogs in the public square, where they lay for five days, until some pious Christians came, and having collected the remains, buried them by the side of the *Via Lavicana* at the cemetery (or catacomb, literally sandpit), and close to the bodies of the holy martyrs Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphorianus, Castorius, and Simplicius. They suffered on the 6th of the Ides of Nov. (Nov. 8), but two years after the passion of the five other martyrs. But when their names could no longer be found, the blessed bishop (Pope) Melchiades determined that the anniversary of the Four Crowned ones should be celebrated under the names of the *five* holy martyrs. Yet, after the lapse of years their names also were revealed to a certain pious individual; still the festival as before appointed continued to be celebrated under that of the other martyrs, while the place became celebrated as the resting-place of the Four."²

It is very clear, then, that whatever confusion may have arisen in the minds of the original writers and those who have at a later period drawn up their compilations, whatever may be

¹ Diocletian was a great builder. Witness the cottage which he built at Spalatro, and where he cultivated his cabbages. It is still nearly perfect, and is an oblong of 720 feet by 650, as nearly as can be calculated.

² Laurentius Surius, *Vitæ Sanctorum*, etc. *Coloniae Agrippinæ*, 1617-18, vol. vi., p. 200.

the slight discrepancy of date—a thing by no means uncommon or improbable in the chronologies of these early times—or the divergences that exist in giving priority sometimes to one martyrdom and sometimes to the other, and the various other discrepancies which may be observed,—yet that the main story is perfectly consistent and perfectly probable, namely, that there were, as stated in the first instance, two distinct sets of martyrs, four officers of the Roman Court, or of the Prefect of the city, and five who were sculptors, and apparently of humble position, and whose names might hence be more easily forgotten, and who perished first according to the generally received opinion—that these having been buried together became confused, and while the *name* of the first group was continued to the second, the *attributes* of the latter were alone preserved. These simple entanglements have been to some extent further complicated, at least to superficial writers and readers, by the martyrdoms of St Carpophorus, St Victorinus, and St Severianus on the road to Albano and Ostia, on October 7. This is all Ruinart¹ gives concerning them, and his reference to the four martyrs is confined to the following:—

“9 Nov. St Clement, St Sempronian, St Claudio, St Nicostratus,” for which he quotes an ‘ancient Roman Calendar compiled under Pope Liberius towards the middle of the 4th cent.’ but without giving any further reference, for which reason I have not thought fit to place it at the commencement of this chapter. Ribadaneira² has the following:—

“29 July. Lives of the Saints Simplicianus, Faustinus, and Beatrix, martyrs. On the same day as St Martha, the Church commemorates the holy martyrs Simplicianus, Faustinus, and Beatrix, their sister, who suffered at Rome for the faith of Christ in the persecution of the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian. Simplician and Faustinus were first taken, and as they were found to be constant in the faith, they were put to the torture by a Lieutenant of the Emperor, and afterwards beheaded, and their bodies thrown into the Tiber. Their holy sister Beatrix recovered, and interred their remains.”

Ribadaneira does not make any mention of the Four Martyrs or of any of those included under that generic name. But he gives, as does Ruinart, Symphorianus of Autun.

The very short notice by Alban Butler, a book so easily accessible, and which is but a very short abstract of some of the facts recapitulated above, need not be further alluded to.

Lastly, we come to the vast compilation known by the name of the “Acta Sanctorum; or, Lives of the Saints” *par excellence*, or sometimes by that of the Bollandists, from Bollandus, the originator, a Jesuit of Liège in the seventeenth century, who had Henschenius and Papebrochius as his principal coadjutors. Probably no work has ever displayed greater learning, patient industry, and critical acumen. It is, perhaps, the most astonishing monument of human power that has ever appeared. The best and earliest lives, often several, are given, but it is the dissertations prefixed to the lives of the various saints, and which often constitute the lives themselves, no original documents being forthcoming, that constitute the especial merit of the work. Nothing in the power of skill, research, or candour is omitted, and when one never rises from the perusal of any one of them without feeling that if, according to the old saying, what Salmasius did not know, was beyond the power of human knowledge, so with much greater truth it may be observed that what, on their particular subject, is omitted by the Bollandists, is beyond the reach of human research. It may be remarked that English proper names are invariably given correctly, a thing most rarely to be found in works of Continental

¹ Ruinart, *Les Véritables Actes des Martyrs*, traduits par Dronet de Maupertay, Paris, 1732, tome ii., p. 575.

² *Les Fleurs des Vies des Saints*, mises en Français par R. Gaultier, Rouen, 1631, tome ii. (Juillet 29).

origin, and I have often been surprised to find descriptions of English localities, with which I am personally well acquainted, given with a clearness and accuracy which would seem to imply personal knowledge. This vast collection is still progressing in the edition of Palmè, Paris, 1868 (date of the last volume), in 47¹ vols. folio, and it, unfortunately, stops short at the end of October, thus omitting the very names with which we are now most intimately concerned, an omission the more to be deplored, inasmuch as it is probable that more than one unedited MS. containing fuller accounts still exists on the subject. They give, however, on July 29, Simplicius, who, with Faustinus and their sister Beatrix, were martyred on that day by Diocletian, as mentioned above. This martyrdom is also in Surius, tom. iii., p. 136. That of Symphorianus of Autun, martyred under Aurelian—some say Marcus Aurelius—is given under date August 22; also in Surius, tom. iv., p. 251. They also have under date August 7 Exanthus, Cassius, Carpophorus, Severinus, Secundus, Licinius, soldiers and friends of the Emperor Maximian, martyred by him on that day at Milan; also under date September 9 Severianus martyred in the same persecution at Sebaste (Samaria), and inserted both in the old Greek and in the Russian calendars.

In one portion of their work they have, however, the following verses on the Four:—

“Senas ornantes Idus merito atque cruento,
Claudi, Castori, Simplici, Simphoriane,
Et Nicostrate, pari fulgetis luce corona;”

“O Claudio, Castorius, Simplicius, Simphorianus, and Nicostratus, you shine with equal light in your crown, adorning the sixth Ides by your virtues and your blood.”

Unfortunately, I have mislaid the reference, and as the only defect of the “Acta Sanctorum” is the total want of an index, it will suffice if I mention the martyrology of Wandelbertus (Migne. Patrol. cxxi. 617) where the same lines occur.²

Having thus accomplished the history of the *lives* or rather the *deaths* of these martyrs, we will now turn our attention to that of their relics.

³“1. In the very ancient sacred ‘Martyrologies,’ the blessed and adorable martyrs Claudio Nicostratus, Symphorianus, and Simplicius (Castorius is omitted), together with the Four Crowned ones, are said to have been buried on November 8 by the side of the Via Lavicana; and, indeed, Bede, in his ‘Martyrology,’ asserts this plainly in the following words:—‘At Rome is the scene of the martyrdom of the Four holy crowned martyrs Severus, Severinus, Victorinus, and Carpophorus, who, being urged to sacrifice against their will, and in no way giving their consent, persevered in the faith. This was reported to the Emperor Diocletian, who

¹ M. Guizot, in his “Lectures on Civilisation,” speaks of the thirty thousand lives of the saints; having avowedly confined his acquaintance with the work to counting the names in one volume, taken at hazard, and multiplying it by 47. In point of fact, a great number of names of persons martyred together are taken, as it were, in one hatch, and the lives are very frequently merely the notices of the Bollandists themselves, in default of original documents; and these notices, so scanty are the materials, often consist of but a few lines. The actual—*i.e.*, *original*—lives are comparatively few in number. Many of these lives are at least amplifications of contemporary authorities, and contain much invaluable history.

² I may state here that all the hagiographical collections are quoted under their day, but as there are often many saints celebrated on the same day, an index where obtainable will be found a help. Quoting the volume and page is of little use. Suppose a reader, desirous of verifying a reference, has at his command only another edition—that of Migne for instance—what then? The page and volume is only an approximate guide, but a good index will be a better.

³ Aringi, Roma Subterranea Novissima, Colonie et Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1659, tom. ii., lib. iv., cap. x.

thereupon ordered that they should be beaten to death with scourges loaded with lead before the statue of *Æsculapius*, and who further directed their bodies to be thrown to the dogs in the public square (*platea*), where they remained untouched for five days. The Christians then came, and having collected the bodies buried them on the *Via Labicana* (or *Lavicana*, the *b* and *v* being interchangeable) at the third milestone from the city, near the bodies of the holy martyrs *Claudius*, *Nicostratus*, *Syphorianus*, *Castorius*, and *Simplicius*. But two years after the passion of these four martyrs, when their names were almost forgotten (as might possibly happen in a time of fierce persecution and frequent massacres), the blessed *Melchiades*, the bishop, ordained that the anniversary of the Four Crowned ones should be kept under the name of the Four Holy Martyrs. In the lapse of time, however, the name of each individual saint was revealed, but the festival, as had been ordained, continued to be celebrated on the festival of the other martyrs, and the place became celebrated as the burial-place of the Four Crowned ones, as in the original MSS." So far Bede,¹ with whom Ado agrees, and also their own *Acta* in the Vatican, where it is added that their bodies were collected and buried in the catacombs (or cemetery), near the *Via Labicana*, by the blessed martyr *St Sebastian*, and by *Melchiades* when bishop, and before the latter's elevation to the papacy. The following also occurs in these *Acta* :—"Whose bodies he (the Emperor) ordered to be thrown to the dogs in the public square, where they remained five days. Then the blessed *Sebastian* came by night with *Melchiades*, the bishop, collected the bodies and buried them by the side of the *Via Labicana*, somewhere about the third milestone from the city of Rome, together with other saints in the same cemetery" (always *arenaria*, *lit.* sand-pit). But since a cemetery of this kind is said to have existed near the third milestone from the city on the *Via Labicana*, which was equally the burial-place of *SS. Marcellinus* and *Peter* (not *St Peter*, the apostle), we may be permitted to conjecture that this one was either contiguous to, or, at least, very near to the other, for there is no mention of it elsewhere.

"2. Moreover, the precious reliques of these martyrs were preserved in the above cemetery until the time of the blessed Pope *Leo IV.*, who, having been when a priest raised to the rank of cardinal by the designation of that of the Four Crowned Martyrs,² on attaining the dignity of Supreme Pontiff (A.D. 841) honoured their title with no unsparing hand, and having exhumed many bodies of holy martyrs from the cemeteries and catacombs, piously transferred them to this spot, and especially those of the Four Crowned ones, which, together with other ever-to-be-venerated bodies of saints and other reliques, he deposited with all honour under the high altar of the church, as the librarian³ (*Anastasius*), speaking of *Leo*, relates in these words: "He, indeed, the ever blessed Pope, and the favoured of God, being animated by the greatest zeal and divine love, collected together in a marvellous manner, within the walls of the blessed city, the bodies of numerous saints which had long remained neglected. For he discovered, by skilful inquiries, the bodies of the Four Crowned Holy Martyrs, and, for the great affection which he bore them, he reconstructed the church, which was consecrated

¹ Who, it may be observed, had especial facilities for knowing, owing to the close connection of the Anglo-Saxon, and especially the Northumbrian, Church with Rome—*e.g.*, *Benedict Biscop*, *Wilfred*, etc.

² We have already seen in *Tillemont* that the spot had a title, *i.e.*, such a title was usually granted, as we say *Connaught* and *Albany* give dukedoms to the royal princes.

³ *Anastasius Bibliothecarius Historia Ecclesiastica cum notis Fabrolii*, *Parisii*, 1649, 1 vol. folio. The extracts given above have been collated with this edition. The author of this work, who was a Byzantine Greek, lived about 879. At this stage of the narrative, *Aringhi* proceeds to quote from the "Bibliothecarius."

to their memory, and which church, until he was raised to the Papacy, he had governed with the greatest wisdom, but which had become shattered by the defects of old age and the lapse of time, so that, broken to ruins, it had long proclaimed its antiquity, and, being fractured retained nothing of its former excellence except tottering craziness. This church, I say, he rebuilt from the foundation in a more beautiful and sumptuous manner, and for the glory of God collected and placed under the sacred altar their most sacred bodies, namely, those of Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphorianus, Castorius, and Simplicius; also Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus, and Victorinus, who were the Four Crowned brothers; also Marius Audifax and Abacus, Felicissimus Agapitus Hippolytus, and his servants to the number of 18, Aquilinus, Aquila, Prisca, Narcissus, Marcellinus, Felix Symmetrius, Candidus, Paulina, Anastasius, Felix Apollion, Benedict Venantius, Felix, Diogenes, Liberilis, Festus, Protus, Cæcilia, Alexander Sixtus, Sebastian, Praxides the Virgin, together with many others whose names are known to God alone. Over this (tomb) he raised a cibarium to the glory of God of extraordinary beauty and workmanship, fabricated of the purest silver gilt, and studded with emeralds and sapphires (amethysts ?), the whole weight being 313 lbs. $\frac{1}{2}$." After which the Bibliothecarius (Anastasius) goes on to relate the list of gifts presented to the same church, which church became afterwards greatly ruined, more especially when Robert Guiscard, prince of Salerno, during the papacy of Gregory VII., burned all the region which lies between the amphitheatre and the Lateran, but was again entirely repaired by Pope Paschal II. (1099-1118), and restored to its former beauty, to which the Bibliothecarius refers in these words: "In like manner, he consecrated the Church of the Four Crowned Martyrs, which had been destroyed in the time of Robert Guiscard, prince of Salerno, after having rebuilt it from the foundation. He consecrated it in the 17th year of his Pontificate on the 20th of January." From which accounts of the churches of the holy martyrs, when the city, being surrounded with armed men, was forced to submit to the enemy's fury, we may understand that the ruin was effected with no slight loss to things sacred and to relics.¹

"3. Before, however, the said Pope Paschal had solemnly consecrated the church, *i.e.*, in the twelfth year of his pontificate, and while occupied with its restoration, he came upon two urns (*urnas*) under the high altar, one of porphyry, the other of Proconnesian stone commonly called serpentine, in which were preserved the relics of the same blessed martyrs; these chests (*arcas*) he surrounded with a solid wall, an altar being placed above, and beneath was a stone of very great size, having in its middle a window shaped like an arch, and which opened on the reliques. On the right hand of the same stone was the former place of interment of the bodies of these revered martyrs, which had been erected by Pope Leo IV., whereof the Bibliothecarius speaks, and on which was recorded a marble inscription; on the left hand all that happened at the same period might be read at length in an inscription on marble written in similar characters. These most sacred bodies, now no longer clearly known to any and enclosed by walls, remained hidden for a length of time until the last century, when Garzius Millinus, who took his title of cardinal from the church, and who was also urban vicar to Paul V. (1605-21), proceeded to restore and adorn this very ancient shrine from the great love he bore to the blessed martyrs, and while wholly occupied with the work he suddenly came upon these extremely ancient stone chests,

¹ If the church was first restored by Leo IV. about 841, then destroyed by Robert Guiscard (1073-85), and afterwards rebuilt by Paschal II., Anastasius must have lived at a very much later period than 879?

and in them the most precious bodies of the martyrs, together with very many relics of other holy martyrs, some of which were of great value. This discovery was the source of the greatest rejoicing to himself, the people, and the Supreme Pontiff, who was zealous in adorning the monuments of sacred antiquity. Wherefore, being animated by a singular accession of devotion, because, under the golden era of his pontificate, new treasures of sacred things hitherto invisible had, by the especial revelation of heaven, been made manifest as well to the city as to the world, he, accompanied by a noble attendance of cardinals, by the leaders of the Roman Court, and by a great multitude of the Roman people, proceeded with all convenient speed to the sacred and venerable relics. Further, Fedinus, canon of St Maria, Maggiore, a counsellor of the aforesaid Cardinal Millinus, and an eye-witness of the above events, gave a public account, diligently drawn up as usual, of the worshipped and adorable finding of these relics, and also a most excellent account sufficiently detailed to satisfy the curiosity of individuals, to which we refer the reader who may be desirous of further information. And so much for these things."

There is a short notice in "Le Cose Maravigliose Di Roma," per Giacomo Mascardi, 1622, which differs slightly, inasmuch as it makes Adrian I. to have preceded Leo IV. as restorer of the church. The "Mirabilia Urbis Romæ," 1618, with which the former is sometimes bound up, makes no mention of the founder Melchiades or of Adrian I., but says, "Honорий I. edificavit, collapsam fere restituit S. Leo IV., instauravit deinde Paschalis II." And precisely the same statement appears in "Las Cosas Maravillosas De la Sancta Ciudad De Roma," 1589.¹ Of the present state of the edifice we have the following description:²—

"SS. Quattro Coronati. The church of the Four Crowned Brothers is situated on the summit of the Cælian hill between the hospital of S. John Lateran and S. Clements. It was first built, according to Panvinio, by Pope Melchiades in the fourth century; and it derives its name from the four martyrs, Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus, and Victorinus, who suffered in the persecution of Diocletian, and whose bodies were deposited here by Leo IV. in the ninth century (Anas. Biblioth. Vit. Leon IV.). It was subsequently repaired by several Pontiffs, and also by Cardinal Carillo in the time of Martin V., as is recorded by an inscription in its inner vestibule. The annexed Camaldolese convent was converted by Pius IV. in 1560 into a female orphan-house, placed under the care of resident Augustinian nuns."

"It is entered by a rude vestibule and two atria with porticos, in the inner one of which is a door to the right opening into a very ancient chapel dedicated to S. Sylvester, and now belonging to the confraternity of sculptors. On its walls are several paintings of the seventh and eighth centuries, illustrative of the life of Constantine. The church is divided into a nave and two small aisles by eight granite columns, over which rises a sort of superstructure in the manner of the ancient basilicas, adorned with eight similar but smaller columns. The floor, which is much worn, has been a handsome specimen of *opus Alexandrinum* or mosaic. Over the first altar, to the right, is a painting of S. Augustin learning, as a child, the exhaustless depth of the profound mystery of the Blessed Trinity. Next comes the handsome monument of Mons. Aloysio d'Aquino, who died in 1679. The flight of steps which we meet next, and also the corresponding one on the opposite side, leads down to the subterranean chapel, inside the altar of which repose the bodies of the Four Crowned martyrs, together with those

¹ Was the former copied from the latter, or had they both a common and probably Latin original?

² Rev. J. Donovan, D.D., Rome, Ancient and Modern, 1842, vol. i., p. 631.

of several other saints. In the tribune, the under range of paintings represents the conversion, martyrdom, etc., of the *five* sculptors, Claudius, etc., whose relics are preserved in this church. The second range represents the sufferings and death of the *four* Crowned martyrs, and above the cornice is a glory, much admired for the excellence of the design and the freedom of the execution, all by Manozzi, called Giovanne da S. Giovanni. Over the next altar, in the left aisle, is a S. Sebastian by Baglioni: the head of the martyr is preserved over the altar, having been enclosed in a silver case by Gregory IV., and placed here by Leo IV. Over the last altar is the Annunciation by some obscure hand. The Station occurs on the 27th day of Lent, and the festival on the 8th Nov."

The observations which next follow, have been forwarded to me from Rome by Mr Shakespeare Wood.¹

"The church, or rather Basilica, was dedicated to the 'Quattro Coronati ed i Cinque Scultori Martiri' jointly.

"The Holy Martyrs, of whom the legend speaks, were probably the *Cinque*. But as the Basilica was generally called and known by the first part only of its name, *i.e.*, 'The Quattro Coronati,' so, as time passed, the memory of the five sculptors or masons became, so to say, blended in that of the Four Crowned ones, and these latter to be considered as the patrons of masons.

"The oldest inscription in the Basilica states—'The blessed Leo IV. (who rebuilt the church 847-855) replaced beneath the altar the bodies of the Holy Martyrs, Claudius, Nicostratus, Sinforian, Castor, and Simplicius, and of the Holy Quattro Coronati, Severus Severianus, Carpophorus, and Victor.'

"This inscription gives the post of honour in point of priority to the five sculptors. [I think this is the generally received opinion among the best authorities], and it is to be noted that they are described as 'i Santi Martiri,' as in the legend, while the other four, who were soldiers—trumpeters *cornifices*—are called 'i Santi Quattro Coronati' as in the MS.

"They were called Coronati because of the manner of their martyrdom. Moreover, in the inscription, the soldiers are grouped as the Quattro Coronati, while the masons are simply described in the plural as the 'Holy Martyrs.' These sculptors or masons suffered martyrdom in the reign of Diocletian rather than make a statue of *Aesculapius*. Their bodies were thrown into the Tiber, and, on being recovered, were placed in the catacomb 'ad duos lauros' on the Via Labicana.

"The four soldiers also suffered martyrdom later in the same reign, and their bodies were laid by St Melchiades in the catacomb 'ad duos lauros' next to the bodies of the Holy Martyrs, Claudius, Nicostratus, Sinforian, Castor, and Simplicius—*i.e.*, the bodies of the five sculptors or masons.

"Some years later Melchiades became Pope, 310, and then he removed [persecution was now over] the bodies of the Holy Martyrs and of the Quattro Coronati to a Basilica on the Caelian he had built and dedicated to their memory. This church must have been one of the very earliest built in Rome, for the reason that it was only in A.D. 313 that Constantine the Great emancipated the Christians from the disabilities weighing upon them, and it became possible

¹ For this communication, as well as for previous notes on the same subject from Dr J. S. Steele (of Rome), I am indebted to Mr J. C. Parkinson.

for them to build churches without falling under the provisions of the penal code; and Melchiades died on the 10th of Dec. of that same year.¹

"Melchiades may have been a 'Mason' (?). He was an African, but from what part I cannot ascertain, and it is curious that among other church regulations he ordered that two candlesticks should stand upon the altar.

"I find that St Bernard wrote a 'Life of Melchiades,' the MS. of which is said to have been placed in the Library of Benet's College, Cambridge—*i.e.*, Corpus Christi. The Basilica of the Quattro Coronati in Rome was therefore built 300 years before that bearing the same name was founded at Canterbury—but it is noteworthy that the primitive Basilica in Rome was rebuilt by Honorius I. A.D. 622, and that in Canterbury was founded A.D. 619.²

"There may have been some special revival of the veneration of those particular saints at that time—or a connecting link of some kind. On the death of Pope Sergius II. A.D. 847, the clergy and people, who had then their part in the Pontifical election, assembled in the 'Santi Quattro,' and, taking the Cardinal Titular of the Basilica, carried him with great applause to the Patriarchal Basilica of St John Lateran close by, and acclaimed him Pope. He took the name of Leo IV., and, as I have said, rebuilt the church with greater magnificence.

"In 1084 A.D., it was burned down when Robert Guiscard took Rome, and was again rebuilt for the third time, and a palatial residence added to it by Paschal II. A.D. 1116.

"When the Lateran Palace was destroyed the Popes lived for some time in the Palace of the Quattro Coronati. Several Popes were elected there, and several of the Titulars of the Basilica were, like Leo IV., elevated to the Pontifical throne. The day assigned to the Quattro Coronati and the Cinque Scultori Martiri is the 8th of Nov., which closes the octave of All Saints, and their office—one of the oldest in the Breviary—is ascribed to Pope Melchiades. If this be well founded, it must first have appeared in the Breviaries of his day.

"St Gregory I. held the Basilica in great esteem, and transferred to it the Station for the 4th Monday in Lent, as still observed.

"The honour in which the Basilica was held was such that the Pontiff, when present in it on the Saints' Day—the 8th Nov.—wore his Tiara.

"The very ancient oratory of St Sylvester in the portico of the Basilica was the chapel of the confraternity of sculptors and masons, founded in the time of Innocent VII. A.D. 1406, 'under the invocation of the Holy Quattro Coronati, and of the other five Holy Martyrs who had followed the profession of sculptors.' The members of the confraternity wore a dress of red with blue sashes. They now assemble in the Church of St Andrea in Vinchi, near the Piazza Montanara, on the side of the Capitoline Hill, as being more convenient than the old oratory. Since what date this change was made, I cannot at the moment tell, except that it

¹ This is erroneous; Christianity was a *religio licita*—a tolerated religion—at least from the time of Aurelian, and was probably more or less winked at from the time of Commodus. A religion may be persecuted after it has been tolerated—*i.e.*, the toleration for some reason is withdrawn—*e.g.*, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. There were many churches built openly before this time. The signal for this very Diocletian persecution was the burning of the magnificent church of Nicomedia, standing just outside the palace gates. The great change effected by Constantine was to substitute Christianity as the State religion for the old Roman paganism.

² Mr Shakespeare Wood has evidently in his mind the sudden stoppage of the fire at Canterbury, A.D. 619, by Bishop Mellitus (according to Bede), on its reaching the martyrium of the "four blessed coronati."

was anterior, but perhaps not long anterior to 1756. The primitive basilica of the Quattro Coronati was built before the Patriarchal Basilica of St John Lateran, the cathedral of Rome, which was consecrated by St Sylvester, the successor of Melchiades, A.D. 319.¹

In a subject of much antiquarian interest, and in which some little, but considering all the circumstances by no means excessive, confusion exists, I have thought it better to give every possible authority at length,—to use a common phrase, without note or comment,—and now having, I think, arrived at the tolerably safe conclusion that at first five *sculptors*—clearly not, I think, *masons*—and shortly after *four* soldiers or officers, civil or military, were martyred probably on the same day, and were interred, certainly, in the same spot whereof one set supplied the name and the other the emblems to future generations,—we now come to the consideration of what these emblems were, after which I shall conclude with a few general observations on the whole subject.

The emblems of these martyrs, since they became patrons of the building trades, consist of the saw, hammer, mallet, compasses, and square; these instruments, especially in Belgium, are sometimes found surmounted by a small crown, to signify their intimate connection with the Four.² These latter are also represented with a dog or a wolf, to signify the animals who either refused to eat their corpses or prevented others from eating them, when exposed for five days in the public thoroughfare.³ The hammer, etc., is used by various trades, such as carpenters and joiners; and hence they have taken these saints for their patrons. In Brussels, shoemakers have even, as it were, ranged themselves under their banner. But there are later innovations, which were adopted when the Flemish trades were gradually reorganised, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from motives of public policy. To what do the crowns of the Four Crowned ones refer? It may have been to certain distinguishing ornaments which, when alive and holding their offices, the martyrs wore upon their heads, but their position was, I think, too obscure for such a distinction; it is more likely to refer to the crown of martyrdom, which in process of time became more peculiarly attached to them;—as in the case of St George, the dragon originally meant sin, and the saint trampling on the beast represented the triumph of the martyr over sin. Viewed in this light, it is a very common attribute of the earlier pictures of saints, especially of St Mary Magdalen, but it has since become the more or less exclusive property of St George.⁴

A good deal has been made of the Four Martyrs, taking the name for the whole, from a masonic point of view, but as I think erroneously. These martyrs were the patron saints of

¹ The *facts* are apparently taken from C. Cahier, *Caracteristiques des Saints dans l'Art populaire*, Paris, 1847, 2 vols. in one—a kind of dictionary.

² The same emblems are even sometimes given to St Eloi, who was a goldsmith. Dr Husenbuth mentions an old painting at Nuremberg, representing the Four Crowned *Brothers*, Martyrs, with a rule, square, etc., at their feet (Emblems of Saints, 1860, p. 66).

³ Cf. St Edmund of East Anglia and the wolf. In “Les Images de Tous Les Saincts et Saintes,” Faictes par Jacques Calot, et mises en lumière par Israel Henriet, Paris, 1636, p. 202; Castorius is represented as a sculptor at work, his head encircled with a crown or nimbus. Carpophorus, also crowned, lies dead on the ground, with two other corpses near him; three wolves or dogs are sitting upright close to the bodies, whilst in the distance may be seen the spear-heads and helmets of a military force.

⁴ St George was martyred at Joppa, which was the scene of the rescue of Andromeda by Perseus. Jonah also embarked at the same place. Is there any connection between the three? The date of Jonah, n.c. 868, is early enough to have suggested dimly even the legend of Perseus.

particular trades, chosen, like the patron saints of all other trades, long after the event of martyrdom, when the trades acquired some corporate or other organised form, and when in consequence they chose for patrons those who had some kind of affinity, more or less remote, with their own pursuits. Hence the antiquity of the legend of the Four does not prove the antiquity of the masonic body; taken in its mediæval, *i.e.*, working, sense, it merely shows that, as might naturally be expected, the building trades chose those saints whose calling had some kind of connection with their own, and as they could not actually get bricklayers and stonemasons, they not unnaturally chose sculptors. No account makes them masons, and the masonic tinge in Germany has evidently been given by masonic influence. It is a curious fact, however, that in dioceses, where at the time great cathedrals were being erected, as at Spires 1477, Utrecht 1497, and Wurzburg 1480, the Breviaries contain ample details of the Four; whilst they are barely mentioned in those of Basle and Constance 1480, Salzburg 1482, Lüttich 1492, and Erfurt 1495. The mediæval masons did not, I fancy, perfect their organisation until the fifteenth century. All the instances given by the German authorities, as far at least as I am able to ascertain, relate to this period. The statutes of the stonemasons of Strassburg, said to be the earliest, date from 1459. Then come the regulations of 1462. Merzendorf, in his "Medals of the Freemasons," mentions a copper medal, probably emanating from the Society of the Four Crowned Martyrs at Antwerp, the date of which is 1546; they are also mentioned in the "Missale Colonicense," 1480, and in the "Passio Sanctorum quatuor Coronatorum," printed by Wattenbach at Vienna in 1853, from a MS. in the Ducal Library at Coburg, but of which the date is not given. Schauberg, in his late work on the "Symbolism of Freemasonry," states that the *meister tafel* (master table) at Basle had on each of its sides a representation of one of the Four Crowned Martyrs.¹ Neither of these two instances appear to be late. We have seen above that the confraternity of the sculptors and masons at Rome did not occupy the chapel at the Quattro Coronati at Rome until 1406. So in England, all that I have been able to discover tends to the conclusion that the masonic body took its complete and final form in the same century.

In Moore's *Freemason's Monthly Magazine*,² it is said that "it is impossible at this day to decide with certainty which of these Breviaries is the original source from which this legend has been taken." If Freemasons would only cease reading in a circle, and would take counsel of some other writers besides those within the mystic pale, they would see that the legend of the Four, besides being perfectly natural and authentic, is of immeasurably higher antiquity than anything of which the building or any other trades can boast. It will be tolerably evident to those who take the trouble to reason calmly and correctly, that when the guilds, trades unions, or by whatever name the associations of workmen may have been called, were formed, that according as was the fashion of the times, they chose patron saints, and that the building trades chose the sculptors, under the generic name of the Four Holy Martyrs, as being the nearest approach to men of their own calling. All references to the "*ars quadrataria*," their being masons, etc., are clearly the invention of those trades whose patrons they had become, to bring them more

¹ *Ante.*, p. 167.

² Boston, U.S.A., April 1863, vol. xvii., p. 177, *et seq.*, containing an English translation of the Legend of the Four Martyrs, as given by Kloss in his "Die Freimaurerei in ihrer wahren Bedeutung." A copy of this was kindly made for me by Mr S. D. Nickerson of Boston, upon which I have drawn for the extracts from the Breviaries of Rome, Utrecht, and Spires, given at pp. 469-472 of this chapter.

closely *en rapport*. Cahier says that the Carpophorus and Severinus, whose martyrdom, together with that of others, was celebrated August 7 (*vide supra*), were in reality martyred at Como, and that their being confused with two out of the Crowned was the cause of the latter having been considered as the patron saints of Como. But both Surius and the Bollandists concur in fixing the martyrdom of the above Severinus and his comrades at Milan, which, though tolerably near to, is emphatically not the same place as, Como. The Magistri Comacini were celebrated as builders in the earlier portion of the Middle Ages; and it is probable, though, as far as I know, there is no proof of it, that it was here that the Four, again speaking generally, became the patrons of the building trades. When did these Magistri Comacini flourish? The sole authority that I know of is Muratori, who in the commencement of one of his dissertations, merely says, speaking of progress in Italy, that the masons of Como became so famous that the name was used in other countries as synonymous with a skilled mason (Lombardo, as a generic name, certainly existed in Spain). But what date was this? Muratori gives none, nor, as far as I know, the clue to any, and it may be said of Muratori as of the Bollandists, that what was beyond the power of his research may fairly be given up as beyond investigation. Still, I do not think that it could have been very early, and the influence of Lombard and Byzantine architecture in Western Europe will, on examination, be found to be exceedingly mythical.¹ The generality of guilds, whether an entirely new invention, or imitated from the Roman Collegia, or their revival after they had been hidden, like seed in the ground, among obscure meetings of the people during a long period of ignorance and barbarism, do not, I imagine, date much before the year 1000 A.D., for the same reason that prior to that period society was not in a sufficiently settled or advanced stage, as to admit of any great progress in the arts, and consequently to induce any extended trades organisations; and this would be more especially the case among the building trades. It has, indeed, been said that St Augustine officiated in the Church of the Four Martyrs at Rome before coming to England, and, as a church dedicated to the same martyrs, is casually mentioned by Bede, speaking of a fire that occurred in Canterbury, A.D. 619;² it has been sought to connect the two events, and to deduce from them a kind of strange theory that in some way or another St Augustine was instrumental in introducing masonry into Britain. Now, in the first place, it is as well that my readers should disabuse their minds once and for all of the idea that the Catholic Church had ever any connection with masonry. The employer and the mistress of the operative masons in the Middle Ages, she has been the unflinching antagonist of speculative masonry in modern times; but has never been the ally or the originator of either, unless, in the sense of a demand creating a supply, in the Middle Ages. Next, who built the church at Canterbury? Three hundred years almost, if not quite, elapsed between the martyrdom of the Four, an event which was almost contemporaneous with the establishment of the Christian as the State religion, and the coming of Augustine. Why should we assume that the church

¹ The mere fact of Como being the only town under their patronage, and that no cathedral was so, shows the little influence of the mediæval masons. Heideloff (*Bauhütte des Mittelalters*) says that many altars erected by mediæval masons were dedicated to the Four. *Query*—Where are they?

² Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, recens. J. Stevenson, 1841, lib. ii., c. vii., p. 115; Ecclesiastical History of England, edited by Dr Giles (Bohn) 1847, p. 80; and *Patres Ecclesie Anglicanae* (Giles), 1843-44, bk. ii., c. vii., pp. 196, 197. In the last-named work, *loc. cit.*, we read:—“Erat autem eo loci, ubi flammorum impetus maxime incumbebat, martyrium beatorum quatuor coronatorum”—“The Church of the Four Crowned martyrs was in the place where the fire raged most.” The heading of the chapter is, “Bishop Mellitus by prayer quenches a fire in his city, A.D. 619.”

was necessarily built in the twenty years or so between the coming of Augustine and the fire, and not in the 300 years before? It must not be forgotten that, as may indeed be gathered from the legends, these saints were in early times exceedingly popular—for saints have their fashion and popularity, as well as persons; take St George, who after all was a very ordinary kind of martyr; and it is therefore exceedingly likely that a church built in those times would be dedicated to them, whether erected by St Augustine or not. Moreover, Augustine was a Benedictine monk, and therefore could not well belong to the Church of the Four at Rome, which was not connected with the Benedictine (then the sole religious) fraternity.¹ Lastly, even taking the most extravagant supposition, and assuming that Augustine *did* come from the Church of the Four at Rome, and *did* build the church at Canterbury, it only proves that he remembered his former home, and does *not* prove any connection with building trade organisations that sprung up hundreds of years later, and at which time only the connection, such as it was, between the masons and the Four began.

Mr Ireland names the churches of "St Martin," and of the "Four Crowned Martyrs," as the oldest ecclesiastical edifices in Canterbury. To the former he assigns the earlier date, and thinks that the latter, which stood on ground now occupied by the church of St Alphege, was erected about the time of St Augustine, A.D. 597, its name (Four Crowned Martyrs) being conferred by one of the earliest archbishops, of whom the three first were Romans.² On the other hand, however, the view already presented in the text is supported by the arguments of a learned writer, which are the more conclusive from the fact of being penned without special reference to the point in dispute. According to Mr Coote, Britain in the fifth century was abundantly furnished with churches, and the Christianity of this island was continued without a break from the date of St Alban's martyrdom (A.D. 303) down to the arrival of St Augustine.³

The Germans, I am aware, assume that, *because* the Four appear in their early ordinances, *therefore* our masons must have derived their origin from them. The argument, which is well worthy of a German,⁴ runs as follows:—"Müller and Smith both rejoice in the Christian name of Charles, *therefore* Müller is not only senior to, but either father or uncle to Smith." I pass over the idea that the possibility of Smith being senior to Müller is coolly and quietly ignored; though on the same principle it might be contended that because the old churches at Yarmouth and Brighton are both dedicated to St Nicholas, the patron saint of fishermen, that therefore the Brighton fishermen must necessarily be descended from those of Yarmouth. It might equally well be the other way; but of course the truth simply is, that fishermen being under the general protection of St Nicholas, that class of men usually invoked his protection, wherever found, and without any sort of cohesion or connection, and the attempt to assume a universal body of fishermen, sprung from one common origin, actuated by one common impulse, and ruled by one common head, is about equivalent to supposing the same in

¹ Dean Hook, I am aware (*Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. i., p. 34), much doubts this, but the Benedictines themselves and the other great Catholic writers, who are infinitely better authorities, have no misgivings whatever upon the point.

² W. H. Ireland, *History of the County of Kent*, 1828, vol. i., pp. 157, 166.

³ H. C. Coote, *The Romans of Britain*, 1878, pp. 417, 419.

⁴ It was Prince Bismarck who said that a German was no good unless he was drilled. Similarly if the minds of the Teutonic race could be put under strict discipline as well as their bodies, it might prove beneficial to human learning. As it is, their patience and research, not being properly directed, only leads to their enveloping themselves and others in a fog of their own raising.

connection with the building trades. It has never been suggested of the one trade, and indeed its absurdity would strike any one at once, and it is only misplaced ingenuity, false pride, and narrow learning, which has ever caused the idea to be entertained concerning the other. But, as it happens, Smith is, as far as we know, really older than Müller—*i.e.*, the earliest masonic document yet discovered, in which mention is made of the Four, is *English*, and not *German*; and as we have seen, the Crowned Martyrs were the patron saints of a *British* Church, many centuries, at least, before there is historic proof of the legend of their martyrdom having acquired currency in Germany.

Mr Halliwell considers the MS. he has published, of a date “not later than the latter part of the fourteenth century,” *i.e.*, more than half a century before the Strassburg Constitutions. The following are the lines relating to the Four:¹—

“ *Ars quatuor coronatorum.* ”

“ Pray we now to God almyght,
 And to hys swete moder Mary bryght,
 That we mowe keepe these artyculus here,
 And these poyncts wel al y-fere,
 As dede these holy martyres fowre,
 That yn thys craft were of gret honoure ;
 They were as gode masonus as on erthe shul go,
 Gravers and ymage-makers they were also.
 For they were werkemen of the beste,
 The emperor had to hem gret luste ;
 He wylned of hem a ymage to make,
 That mowt be worscheped for his sake ;
 Such mawmetys he hadde yn hys dawe,
 To turne the pepul from Crystus lawe.
 But they were stedefast yn Crystes lay,
 And to here craft, withouten nay ;
 For they nolde not forsake here trw fay,
 An blyeve on hys false lay.
 The emperor let take hem sone anone,
 And putte hem ynto a dep presone ;
 The sarre he penest hem yn that phase,
 The more yoye wes to hem of Cristus grace.
 Thenne when he sye no nother won,
 To dethe he lette hem theme gon ;
 Whose wol of here lyf yet mor knowe,
 By the bok he may hyt schowe,
 In the legent of sanctorum,
 The names of quatuor coronatorum.
 Here fest wol be withouten nay,
 After Alle Halwen the eyght day.”

¹ Early History of Freemasonry in England, pp. 31, 32; and see *ante*, pp. 60, 79, 357 362.

CHAPTER XI.

APOCRYPHAL MANUSCRIPTS.

 MONGST the documentary evidence which has been adduced in support of the high antiquity of the Masonic Craft, there is one kind which demands more than a passing notice, viz., the series of fabricated writings and charters—often distinguished by a strong family likeness—relied upon at different periods, and in different countries, to establish claims of a varied character, but marked by the common feature of involving in their settlement the decision of important points, having a material bearing upon the early history of Freemasonry.

Two of the manuscripts examined in this chapter are grouped by Krause amidst “the three oldest Professional Documents of the Brotherhood of Freemasons;” whilst of a third,¹ Kloss aptly remarks, that, if authentic, all masons, subsequent to 1717, have resorted to spurious rituals, customs, and laws.

I shall now proceed with a review of six documents, falling within the category of Apocryphal MSS. These I shall consider according to priority of *publication*, except the “Larmenius Charter” (1810), with which, being only indirectly masonic, I shall conclude the chapter.

I. THE “LELAND-LOCKE” MS.

This document cannot be traced before 1753, in which year it was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, being described as a copy of a small pamphlet printed at Frankfort in 1748. It is headed—“Certayne Questyons, with Awnsweres to the same, concernyng the Mystery of MACONRYE; wryttenne by the hande of Kynge HENRYE, the Sixthe of the Name, and faythfullye copied by me JOHAN LEYLANDE, ANTIQUARIUS, by the commaunde of his Highnesse.”²

The following is an abstract of this catechism:—

“The Mystery of Maconrye” (1.) is expressed to be “the Skylle of nature;” (2.) “Ytt dyd begynne with the fyrske menne in the Este;” (3.) “The Venetians [Phenicians] dyd bryuge ytt Westlye;” (4.) “Peter Gower [Pythagoras], a Grecian,” in his travels, “Wynnyng entraunce yn al Lodges of Maconnes, and becommynge a myghtye Wyseacre, framed a grate

¹ The Charter of Cologne.

² *I.e.*, Henry VIII., by whom Leland (or *Laylond*) was appointed, at the dissolution of the monasteries, to search for and preserve such books and records as were of value.

Lodge at Groton [Crotona], and maked manye Maconnes, some whereoffe dyde journeye yn Fraunce, wherfromme the arte passed yn Engelonde;" (5.) "Maconnes hauethe communycatedde to Mannkynde soche of her Secrettes as generallyche myghte be usefull," keeping back such as might be "harmefulle" in improper hands, including "soche as do bynde the *Freres* more strongelyche togeder, bey the Proffytte, and commodytye commynge to the *Confrerie* herfromme;"¹ (6.) amongst the "Artes" taught by the "Maconnes" to "Mankynde" are "Agricultura, Architectura, Astronomia, Geometria, Numeres, Musica, Poesie, Kymistrye, Governemente, and Relygyonne;" (7.) the "Maconnes" are such good teachers, because they possess the "Arte of syndyngne neue Artes, whyche the fflyrste Maconnes receaued from Godde;" (8.) "Thay concelethe the Arte of keynynge Secrettes, of *Wunderwerckynge*, of fore sayinge thynges to come, of chaunges, the Wey of Wynnynge the Facultye of Abrac, the Skylle of becommynge gude, and the Universelle Longage of Maconnes;" (9.) those in search of instruction will be taught if found worthy and capable of learning; (10.) masons enjoy special opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge; (11.) "yn the moste Parte, thay be more gude then thay woulde be yf thay war not Maconnes," and (12.) they love one another "myghtlye, for gude Menne and treu, kennynge eidher oðher to be soche, doeth always love the more as thay be more Gude."

It will be seen that many of the pretensions advanced in this interlocutory discourse—which are put forward by the dialogist, who *replies* to questions addressed him by an inquirer—conflict with the tenor of the ordinary masonic documents.

Prefacing the catechism is a letter [expressed to be] from the learned Mr John Locke, to the Right Hon. [Thomas] Earl of [Pembroke],² bearing date May 6, 1696 [Sunday]. The philosopher states that, by the help of Mr C[olli]ns, he has at length procured a copy of that MS. in the Bodleian library, which the Earl was anxious to see, and adds—"The MS., of which this is a copy, appears to be about 160 years old; yet it is itself a copy of one more ancient by about 100 years, for the original is said to be in the handwriting of K. Henry VI. Where that prince had it, is at present an uncertainty; but it seems to me to be an examination (taken perhaps before the king) of some one of the brotherhood of masons; among whom he entred himself, as 'tis said, when he came out of his minority, and thenceforth put a stop to a persecution that had been raised against them."³ Locke then goes on to say that "the sight of this old paper" has so raised his curiosity as to induce him to "enter the fraternity the next time he goes to London;" and, if we believe Preston, "the favourable opinion this

¹ According to Dallaway, the above passage "seems to authorise a conjecture that the denomination of Free-masons in England was merely a vernacular corruption of the *FRERES-MAÇONS* established in France." But the same writer freely admits that the view thus expressed is not borne out by their appellations on the Continent; which he gives as follow:—"Frey-Maureren, *German*; Liberi Muratori, *Italian*; Frates Liberales, *Roman*; Frane-maçons, *French*; Fratres Architectonie, *Modera Inscription* (Discourses upon Architecture, p. 434). If in the adoption of a similar derivation for the word *Freemason*—without the concluding reservation—Fort (Early History and Antiquities of Free-masonry, pp. 192, 437) in 1876, and the Rev. A. S. Palmer (Folk-Etymology, a Dictionary of Verbal Corruptions) in 1882, have leant on the authority of Dallaway, as seems probable in the first instance, and possible in the second—the speculations of these two writers rest upon no other foundation than the verbiage of the literary curiosity which is being examined in the text.

² The names are not given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and were filled in by a subsequent copyist.

³ Cf. *ante*, pp. 356, 366 (note 2); Dallaway, Discourses upon Architecture, p. 429; Masonic Magazine, October 1878, p. 148; and Notes and Queries, 4th series, 1869, vol. iv., p. 455.

philosopher conceived of the Society of Masons before his admission, was sufficiently confirmed after his initiation!"¹

Notwithstanding the suspicious circumstances connected with its first appearance in this country, the MS. was very generally accepted as an accredited document of the craft, and is given *in extenso* in most of the masonic works—including the "Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of England"—published during the last half of the eighteenth century. The first critic who exposed its pretensions was Lessing, in his "Ernst und Falk" (1778), and though the document was considered to be a genuine one by Krause and Fessler, later German writers—including Kloss, Keller, and Findel—regard it as a palpable fraud, and wholly unworthy of the critical acumen which has been lavished upon its simulated antiquity.

A learned writer has observed, "the orthography is most grotesque, and too gross ever to have been penned either by Henry the Sixth or Leland, or both combined. For instance, we have Peter Gowere, a Grecian, explained in a note by the fabricator—for who else could have solved it?—to be Pythagoras! As a whole, it is but a clumsy attempt at deception, and is quite a parallel to the recently discovered one of the *first English Mereurie*."²

It remains to be noticed, that among the masonic annalists of our own day, there yet lingers a solitary believer in the credibility of this MS. "A careful examination of the pamphlet," says Fort, "convinces me that it is genuine and entitled to full credence."³ Yet few, I imagine, will be in agreement with this brilliant writer, when he states, that "whoever wrote the document in question was profoundly learned in the secrets possessed by the craft;" inasmuch as the extent to which this nameless fabulist was versed in the *arcana* of masonry, can only be approximately determined by a perusal of the mysterious document—which all authorities, except Fort, concur in regarding as an impudent forgery. The conclusion I have myself arrived at is, that the catechism must have been drawn up at some period subsequent to the publication of Dr Anderson's "Constitutions;" and I think it not improbable that the memoir of Ashmole, given in the "Biographia Britannica" (1747), may have suggested the idea of practising on the credulity of the Freemasons.

II. THE STEINMETZ CATECHISM.

This curious document derives whatever importance it may possess, to the use that has been made of it by Fallou, and writers of this school, who dwell at length upon the resemblance—which, in their eyes, it bears to the examination of an entered apprentice Freemason. This conclusion has been arrived at, in the case of the original German text, by persistently ignoring the ordinary as well as the technical meaning of words peculiar to the trade. The *English* version has endured a similar maltreatment, aggravated, it may be observed, by the inherent defects of a faulty translation.

The earliest publication of this catechism appears to have been that of Schneider,⁴ who says,⁵ "that he obtained it from operative masons in Altenburg after much trouble, on account of the secrecy they maintain." From some notes of Krause,⁶ it would appear that Schröder and Meyer both possessed manuscript exemplars of this examination, but he does not state whether they ever published them. He himself gives us⁷ a copy of Schneider's

¹ Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 162.

² Halliwell, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

³ Fort, p. 417.

⁴ Konstitutions Buch der Loge Archimedes, Altenburg (*circa*), 1803, p. 144.

⁵ Pace K. C. F. Krause, Die drei Aeltesten Kunsturkunden, vol. ii., pt. 2, p. 258.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pt. 2, p. 261.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

version (the original I have been unable to consult), and, bearing in mind his scrupulous veracity and conscientious exactitude, we may take this to be a literal transcript of the earliest published form.

From Schneider it was copied by Stock,¹ and from the latter by Berlepsch.² Fallou,³ in giving it, remarks that he has before him one manuscript and two printed copies: the printed copies were probably those of Stock, Krause, or Schneider, so that we are again reduced to Schneider's authority: as to the MS. he does not say how or whence he obtained it. Findel gives it in the appendices to his "History of Freemasonry," and Steinbrenner⁴ presents us with an English translation immediately following the "Examination upon entrance into a *Lodge*," from the "Grand Mystery of Free-masons discovered," declaring "The one is a counterpart of the other." With the greatest desire to appreciate the full bearing of his argument, I am, nevertheless, quite unable to see more resemblance than this, viz., that they are both in dialogue form. Finally we find the examination published once more in the *Masonic Magazine* for February 1882, this time giving the German and English versions in parallel columns.

Its antiquity is a difficult matter to determine. To judge by the orthography and construction, we must call it quite modern—say eighteenth century: but it is evident that Schneider may have taken it from the mouth of an eighteenth century workman, and the absence of all archaic expressions and spelling would thus be accounted for. Again, the fact of its being the examination of a salute-mason—as distinguished from a letter-mason—points to a date subsequent to the fusion of the Steinmetzen with the bricklayers and others;⁵ though, on the other hand, it may have been communicated to these new bodies by the old Steinmetzen, and slightly altered to suit the circumstances. Steinbrenner, however, is certainly not justified in calling it the "Examination of a German Steinmetz during the *Middle Ages*;" he adduces no *proof* of such a high antiquity; and *disproof* of course is equally wanting. The age of the catechism becomes, therefore, a matter of conjecture rather than of opinion. The document may be of recent origin, or a survival of something more ancient; though in its present *form* it is, without doubt, of quite modern date.

It has been already observed, that the English translation is faulty. By this a false impression is occasioned. The catechiser is denominated throughout "Warden." The German word is *Alt-gesell*, denoting properly the "old fellow," or "Elder," viz., the *elected* officer of a journeymen fraternity, and *not* a "Warden," who was appointed by the Master to preside over the *lodge*.

This slight but important correction transfers the scene of action from the Stonemasons' "lodge" to the journeymen's "house of call."

In Germany the craft guilds ultimately divided into two bodies, one being formed of masters, the other of journeymen or *gesellen*. The latter chose one or more of their own class to preside at their meetings (*Alt-gesell*). The Steinmetzen, who did *not* divide into two bodies, were presided over by the *Werkmeister*; who appointed his "parlierer, pallierer, or polir," as the expression has been differently rendered. He was the Master's *alter ego*, his overseer, and the word will rightly bear in English the sense of Warden. The following distinction may, therefore, be drawn. The "parlierer" or "warden" was appointed by the

¹ Grundzuge der Verfassung, etc.

² Chronik der Gewerbe.

³ Mysterien der Freimaure, pp. 363-365.

⁴ Origin and Early History of Masonry, p. 146.

⁵ *Ante*, p. 173. The "stranger" calls himself a *grussmaurer*, or "salute-mason," a term employed by the Steinmetzen to distinguish themselves from the ordinary rough-masons, when in consequence of their decline they had amalgamated with the latter.

Master's sole authority—the “Alt-gesell” or “Elder” was elected by his fellows—and the latter term will not bear the construction (warden) that has been placed upon it.

The next point which claims our attention is the singularity of the reply which is made to the query—“for what purpose” the “stranger” is travelling?—the answer being (in the English version) “for honourable promotion, instruction, and honesty.”

The word “promotion” has a peculiar significance, and at once suggests the idea of there being a series of degrees to be conferred. The German word is *Beförderung*—literally advancement, and *figuratively* promotion. But a closer examination of the subject reveals the fact, that that term has been and still is, the only one used by German workmen of all trades to signify *employment*. A scavenger or chimney-sweep, equally with a *Steinmetz*, was and is *befördert* by his employer. The expression probably grew out of the practice of journeymen working under a master for a few days, whereby they were enabled to earn sufficient money to carry them to the next town. They were, in fact, *furthered* or *advanced*, but in no sense *promoted*. We are next informed that “instruction and honesty” are the “usages and customs of the craft.” What answer more natural from a workman? He travels for instruction, *i.e.*, to acquire the technics or *usages* of the craft; and his honesty consists in maintaining its peculiar customs, and obeying its statutes. But, again, in this instance, the translation is imperfect.

Honesty in German is “*Ehrlichkeit*;” whilst the word here used is “*Ehrbarkeit*,” indicating that peculiar quality which causes a man to be generally esteemed by his fellows. For this, if we read its somewhat harsh equivalent in the vernacular—*honourableness* or *worthiness*—What answer more appropriate from the mouth of a trades-unionist? And it has been shown that the craftsman was always such, although the name itself was unknown.

We are next told that these usages and customs commence with the termination of his apprenticeship, and finish with his death. This is a bare statement of the truth, as the ordinances show it. “We recognise a mason by his honesty.” Bear in mind my previous definition of honesty, *i.e.*, a strict conformity with craft customs, and this answer will also cease to imply the existence of any hidden doctrine or mystery.

The questions concerning the date of the institution of the trade, and the introduction into the catechism of Adonhiram and Tubal Cain have been already noticed,¹ but it is desirable to add that, according to Krause,² the names of the worthies last cited do *not* appear in the manuscripts of Schröder and Meyer. He also points out that even if they did, the *Steinmetzen* would only be following the example of all trades, who invariably derived their proto-craftsman from some biblical character. A metrical tradition of the German carpenters would read thus in English—

“When Adam suffered heat and cold
He built a hut, so we are told.”

The “father of the human race” is also referred to by our own gardeners, in a familiar distich, of which the antiquated original is given in the “*Curalia Miscellanea*” of Dr Pegge—

“When Adam dolve, and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?”

The next question with which we are concerned is the following:—“What is secrecy in itself?” To which reply is made—

“Earth, fire, air and snow,
Through which to honest promotion (*employment*) I go.”

In German as in English this forms a doggerel rhyme, and was probably a mere catch

¹ *Ante*, p. 175.

² *Die drei Ältesten Kunstkunden*, 2d edition, vol. ii., pt. ii., pp. 261-263, notes.

phrase. It evidently alludes to a journeyman's tramp through the land; but taking into consideration the word "secresy" in the question, those who insist on a mystic interpretation, must give "promotion" its figurative meaning, and they may then turn it into an allusion to the grave and the life to come. The respondent next states that under his hat—*i.e.*, in his head—he carries "a laudable wisdom."¹ It is now impossible to transfuse into the English language the sense of the German word *Weishet*, by translating it differently; but this was not the case in former days, and unless the catechism is endowed with a real flavour of antiquity, it will cease to interest us. Anciently, *Weishet* would have been best defined as "the power of applying to proper purposes, the most appropriate means,"² or, to vary the expression, skill or cunning in their original signification.

Replying to further questions, the Stranger (*Fremder*) says, that "under his tongue he carries *truth*," and "the *strength* of the craft," he declares to be "that which fire and water cannot destroy." The last phrase probably alludes to the Steinmetzen fraternity. The triad—skill, truth, and strength—is obtained; but its accidental resemblance to the masonic formula—wisdom, strength, and beauty—*pae* Fallou and his disciples, fails to impress me with a belief in there being any real connection between the two.

The last question and answer are as follows:—

Alt-gesell.—"What is the best part of a Wall?"

Fremder.—"Union" (*Verband*).

Anything more mystifying than this (in its present form) is hardly conceivable. The translation is again defective, though in justice to whoever may be responsible for this production, it must be fairly stated, that he has conveyed the exact sense in which the *answer* has been understood by the Germans themselves. *Verband*, however, cannot under any circumstances be translated "Union;" the nearest approach to it would be "a bandage."

Jacobsson's "Technologisches Wörterbuch" informs us that *Verband* means the different manners of laying bricks to insure solidity. The "Globe Encyclopædia" gives "*Bond*, in brickwork, the method of laying bricks so that the vertical joints in adjacent courses may not occur immediately over each other, and so that by placing some bricks with their length across the wall (*headers*), and others with their length parallel to its face (*stretchers*), the wall may have the greatest attainable stability in both directions." Replace the above word "Union" by "the bond," and what more matter-of-fact answer could be expected from a stonemason or bricklayer?

Viewed by the light of common sense, there appears to me nothing in the preceding "examination," that is capable of sustaining the claims to antiquity, which have been advanced on its behalf.

III. THE "MALCOLM CANMORE"³ CHARTER.

The first appearance of this charter, according to Mr W. P. Buchan—to whom the craft is mainly indebted for its antecedents and character becoming so fully known—was in the year 1806, when its opportune discovery was utilised to support the claim of the "Glasgow Freemen Operative St John's Lodge," to take precedence of the other lodges in the masonic procession at the laying of the foundation-stone of Nelson's Monument on "Glasgow Green,"

¹ Eine hochlöhliche Weisheit.

² Adelung, Dictionary of the German Language, Leipsic, 1780-1786.

³ *Cran-More*, or *Great-head*.

although at that time it was an independent organisation. The title thus asserted was successfully opposed by the Lodge "Glasgow St Mungo," then the senior in the province, on two grounds: That the claimant body was not under the sheltering wing of the Grand Lodge; and that the document upon which the members relied to vindicate their claim was a "pretended Charter."

This view was shared by the then Grand Secretary (William Guthrie), and the Provincial Grand Master (Sir John Stuart), yet somehow or other the St John's Lodge came off victorious in 1810, when the foundation-stone of the "Glasgow Asylum for Lunatics" was laid with "Masonic honours," some asserting that the charter granted by Malcolm III, King of Scots, gave the members priority over all the other lodges in Scotland.¹ Dr Cleland states that "the members of this Lodge having lately discovered an old musty paper in their Charter chest, procured a translation of it, when it turned out to be a Charter in their favour," etc.

The important character of the document gradually dawned upon the minds of its possessors, and ultimately led a prominent member of the lodge to declare, that had "our predecessors in office done their duty, every Lodge in Scotland would have required to get a charter from them."² The precise nature of the dereliction of duty imputed to their masonic ancestors, and the evidence necessary to substantiate the claim to a sovereignty over the Scottish lodges, were not alluded to at the time, nor is any information yet forthcoming upon two points of so much importance.

1051 (A.D.) was first announced as the year of origin of the charter, then 1057, but later on, in deference to considerable criticism, A.D. 1157 was substituted, and Malcolm the third was changed to the fourth of that name. According, however, to more recent and accurate investigations, the correct date is approximately some seven centuries and a half later than the year 1057!

It is difficult to understand how the authenticity of this so-called "Malcolm Charter" can be upheld, when the "Eglinton MS." of December 28, 1599, provides, on the authority of William Schaw, "Master of Wark, Warden of the Maisonis" for Scotland, that the Lodge of Kilwinning shall have its warden present "at the election of the Wardenis within the boundis of the Nether Waird of Cliddisdaill, *Glasgow*, Air, and boundis of Carrik," and that the warden and deacon of Kilwinning Lodge shall convene the other wardens and deacons within the bounds aforesaid (viz., the *West of Scotland*), whenever circumstances demanded, and gave them authority to assemble anywhere within that extensive jurisdiction.

Now, the pseudo-charter recites that "none in my dominions shall erect a lodge until they make application to the Saint John's Lodge, *Glasgow*,"³ and contains, moreover, a number of clauses respecting fees, dues, and special privileges wholly inconsistent with the regulations known to be in force during subsequent centuries, all of which are silent as to the pre-eminence claimed for this lodge.

The whole subject of the charter and its relation to the St John's Lodge was discussed at great length in the pages of the *Freemasons' Magazine* (1868), and in the controversy which then took place, Mr Buchan posed first of all as a believer in the genuineness of the document, but having subsequently made a more careful scrutiny of its contents, became its

¹ Dr J. Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow*, 1816, vol. ii., p. 483.

² *Glasgow Herald*, June 17, 1870; *Freemasons' Magazine*, July 9, 1870.

³ *By-Laws of the Lodge of Glasgow St John*, 1858, p. 6.

most destructive critic, and was chiefly instrumental in administering the death-blow to its pretensions.

During the process of investigation Mr Buchan obtained the opinion of Professor Cosmo Innes, the eminent Scottish archaeologist, who had examined the "charter" in 1868, and pronounced it "a forgery executed within the last 150 years, or taking plenty of time, within 200 at the utmost." He also stated that "it was made up of pieces taken out of different charters and stuck together." In a letter to Mr Buchan, the same excellent authority observes that "our first corporate Charters were to Burghs, and not till long after, came those to the Gilds and Corporations within and under Burghs; but we have no Charters to Burghs till William the Lion (1165-1214), so you see it did not require much sagacity to stamp the Charter of Malcolm, *full of the phraseology and the minute distinctions of a much later day*, as a forgery."

The members of St John's Lodge, Glasgow, finally determined to test the strength of their position by petitioning the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and particularly appealed against the action of the M.W. Grand Master in awarding precedence to the Lodge of "Journeymen," Edinburgh, No. 8, on the occasion of meeting in Glasgow Cathedral previous to laying the foundation-stone of the Albert Bridge, June 3, 1870, thus infringing upon their ancient rights and privileges, secured to them by the "Malcolm Canmore Charter." The decision of the Grand Lodge was pronounced on February 6, 1871, which proving adverse to the claims of the memorialists, the members of St John's Lodge solaced their wounded feelings, by sentencing Mr Buchan, their senior warden—who had opposed the prayer of the petitioners in Grand Lodge—to a term of five years' suspension from his masonic privileges. It is almost unnecessary to add, that on appeal this decree was reversed.

IV. "KRAUSE'S MS." OR "PRINCE EDWIN'S CONSTITUTION OF 926."

The *crux* for those who maintain the authentic character of the documents under review, is to satisfactorily bridge over the period between the dates of their *alleged* origin and of their *actual* publication as MSS. relating to the craft. In this respect the "Krause MS." is no better off than its companions, though its internal character is in many points superior to any of them. Had some portions of its text been presented, as appertaining to the latter part of the seventeenth century, it is probable that no objections could reasonably have been urged against their reception, inasmuch as absolute correctness is not to be expected or required, it being only essential that the general character of these Constitutions should be such as to accord with known versions written about the same period. There is, however, much more involved than this, in allowing the claim made by the apologists of the "Krause MS.," for it is either the "Constitution completed by the pious Edwin," and the "Laws or Obligations" are those "laid before his Brother Masons" by the same Prince, or the document is an imposture. Then again, "the old obligations and statutes, collected by order of the King in the year 1694," are declared to have been issued by "command of the King" (William III.), and other regulations were "compiled and arranged in order, from the written records, from the time of King Edred to King Henry VIII." These pretensions are based upon no foundation of authority. The only *evidence* applicable to the inquiry, tends to show that many clauses of this composite document, differ most suspiciously from any that appear in the veritable "Old Charges" of the last century, while others could not have been

circulated, if at all, until some thirty years subsequent to 1694. Yet with all these drawbacks, there remain a considerable number that might fairly pass muster, if removed from their objectionable surroundings, the resemblance to the early Constitutions of England and Germany, being frequently so marked as to suggest that a varied assortment of authentic masonic records lay conveniently at hand, whilst the compilation or fabrication of the MS. was being proceeded with. It was probably from the close similarity, in places, of the "Krause" MS. to the ordinary text of the "Old Charges," that the genuineness of this anachronistic rehearsal of craft legends and regulations was at first very commonly believed in; albeit, a careful collation of the points of agreement between the "Edwin" and the *attested* "Constitutions," only brings into greater relief the divergences of narrative and description, which stamp the former as an impudent *travestic* of the "Old Charges of British Freemasons."

True it is, the MS. is not always at variance with the recognised text, but it must have more to recommend it than a mere agreement now and then, especially when side by side with such resemblances are several statements and clauses wholly irreconcileable with its claim to be either "Edwin's Constitution" in part, or even a version of some seven centuries later date. The "Constitution" is more elaborate and exact in its details than any other of known origin, many of the particulars being singular in character, and clearly out of place in a document of the tenth century. The second division, entitled the "History of the Origin and Progress of Masonry in Britain," is equally singular and precise in its verbiage as compared with the scrolls of the craft, from which it differs materially, especially in the introductory observations common to the latter, respecting the assembly at York and the laws then promulgated.

The "Laws of Prince Edwin" (?) are sixteen in number, the first of which enjoins "that you sincerely honor God, and follow the laws of the Noachedæans." The latter reference, as I have already mentioned,¹ is also to be found in Dr Anderson's "Constitutions" of A.D. 1738, but was omitted in all subsequent editions, and does not appear in any other known version of the "Old Charges." The third and fifth regulations ordain respectively, that friendship is not to be interrupted by a difference of religion, and that the *sign* is to be kept from every one who is not a brother; whilst the fifteenth, further requires that "every mason shall receive companions who come from a distance and give him the sign."² These allusions are sufficient of themselves to demonstrate the essentially modern character of the MS., and it will be unnecessary to multiply the evidence—already conclusive on this point—by citing discrepancies which cannot fail to strike the least observant reader, who compares the apocryphal document No. 51 in my chapter on the "Old Charges," with any of the forms or versions of those ancient writings, which there precede it in the enumeration.

The "old obligations for the year 1694" again refer to the *sign*; and the "regulations" declared to be counterparts of the "written records from the time of King Edred to King Henry VIII," *inter alia*, affirm:—I., III. "All lawful brotherhoods shall be placed under patrons, who shall occasionally examine the brotherhoods in their lodges." IV. The numbers of a brotherhood shall be fifty or sixty, "without reckoning the accepted masons."³ VI. "The master of a lodge can found a new lodge." IX. Each year the lodges shall assemble on St

¹ *Ante*, p. 77.

² The extracts are from Hughan's "Old Charges."

³ A note follows here: "For a long time past the whole of them, in England and Scotland, have numbered each one hundred!"

John the Baptist's day. XII. Those who wish to be made *Masters* must register their application "several months before;" all the brethren of the lodge to vote on the occasion. No more than five new brethren to be accepted at one time.

The Latin certificate which follows, runs thus:—"This manuscript, written in the old language of the country, and which is preserved by the venerable Architectural Society in our town, agrees exactly with the preceding Latin translation," and is confirmed by "Stonehouse, York, January 4, 1806." Inasmuch as there was no society of the kind in existence at York in the year named, and that the deponent "Stonehouse" cannot be traced as having ever resided at that ancient city, it would be a waste of time to carry this examination any further. In conclusion, I may state that the fidelity of the German translation is attested by C. E. Weller, an official at Altenberg, after it had been compared with the Latin version by three linguists.

The original document, as commonly happens in forgeries of this description, is missing, and how, under all the circumstances of the case, Krause could have constituted himself the champion of its authenticity, it is difficult to conjecture. Possibly, however, the explanation may be, that in impostures of this character, credulity on the one part is a strong temptation to deceit on the other, especially to deceit of which no personal injury is the consequence, and which flatters the student of old documents with his own ingenuity.

V. THE "CHARTER OF COLOGNE"

In the year 1816, Prince Frederick, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands, received a packet of papers, accompanied by a letter, written in a female hand, and signed "C., née von T.,"¹ stating that the manuscripts had been found amongst her deceased father's effects, and that she believed he had received them from Mr Van Boetzelaer. In 1818 the Grand Master caused copies to be made of the documents, and sent the Latin text with a Dutch translation to all the lodges in the Netherlands. He also had all the manuscripts carefully examined by experts in writing, who at once expressed doubts as to their authenticity. Some lodges, however, could not be divested of a belief in their genuineness, and the three-hundredth anniversary of the alleged promulgation of the charter was actually celebrated by the lodge "La Bien Aimée" at Amsterdam in 1835!

The *legend* runs thus:—From 1519 to 1601 there was a lodge at Amsterdam named "Het Vredendall," or the "Valley of Peace," which, having fallen into abeyance, was revived in 1637 under the title of "Frederick's Vredendall," or Frederick's Valley of Peace. The lodge-chest, according to a protocol dated January 29, 1637, contained the following documents:—(1.) The original warrant of constitution of the lodge "Het Vredendall," written in the English language; (2.) A roll of the members, 1519-1601; and (3.) The Charter of Cologne, *i.e.*, a document in cipher, signed by nineteen master masons in Cologne, June 24, 1535.

These papers passed from one person to another, until 1790, when they were presented to Mr Van Boetzelaer, the Grand Master of the Dutch lodges.

The so-called charter appears to have been first printed in the "Annales Maçonniques," 1818, and many German versions of, and commentaries upon, its text have since appeared.²

¹ According to another account, "C., child of V. J.,"—leaving the inference that the writer was the daughter of Van Jeylinger, the successor of Van Boetzelaer as Grand Master of Holland.

² Heldmann, 1819; Krause, 1821; Bobrik, 1840; Eckert, 1852; Kloss, and others.

It is also accessible to the English reader in many popular works.¹ It consists of a preamble, and thirteen clauses on articles, the latter being lettered in due sequence from A to N.

The charter is a manifesto of “the chosen masters of the St John’s fraternity, heads of the lodges in London, Edinburgh, Vienna, Amsterdam, Paris, Lyons, Frankfort, Hamburg, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Madrid, Venice, Ghent, Königsberg, Brussels, Dantzic, Middleburg, Bremen, and Cologne,”² addressed to their fellow labourers and to the unenlightened world.”

A. That the order of Freemasons is more ancient than that of the Knights Templars, having existed in Palestine, Greece, and the Roman Empire, even before the Crusades, and the time when the Knights Templars went to Palestine.

B. That the fellowship (*consociatio*) then, as in former times, embraced the degrees of Disciple, Fellow, and Master, the last-named class comprising Elect and Most Elect Masters.

C. That one person was selected from the body of Elect Masters to assume authority over the rest, and to be reverenced (though known to very few) as the Supreme Elect Master or Patriarch.³

D. The government of the society was confided to the highest Elect Masters.

E. That the society of brethren began to be called “the fraternity of Freemasons, A.D. 1450,”⁴ at Valenciennes in Flanders, prior to which date they were known by the name of “brethren of St John.”

F. None are admitted into the order, but those who are professedly Christians. No bodily tortures are employed at initiation.

G. Amongst the duties which must be undertaken on oath, are fidelity and obedience to secular rulers.

H. The aim of the society is expressed in the two precepts:—to love all men as brothers; to render to God, what is God’s—and to Cæsar, what is Cæsar’s.

I. The secrets and mysteries conduce to this end—that, without ostentation, the brethren may do good.

K. Every year a feast is held in honour of St John, patron of the community.

L. The ceremonies of the order, though represented by signs or words, or in other ways, differ entirely from ecclesiastical rites.

M. He alone is acknowledged as a brother of the society of St John or Freemason, who in a lawful manner, under the direction of an Elect Master, assisted by at least seven brethren, is initiated into the mysteries, and is ready to prove his adoption by the signs and tokens (*signis et tesserris*) practised by the brethren. In which are included those signs and words (*signis et verbis*) customary in the Edinburgh lodge or tabernacle (*mansione vel tabernaculo*), and in those affiliated with her. Also in Hamburg, Rotterdam, and Venice.

N. As a general conformity it is necessary in the lodges; therefore the “charter” shall be transmitted to all the colleges of the order.

[Signed] Harmanus † : Carlton : Jo. Bruce : Fr. Von Upna : Cornelis Banning : De Coligni : Virieux : Johann Schröder : Hofmann, 1535 : Iacobus [Jaeobus] Prepositus : A. Nobel : Ignatius de

¹ Dr J. Burns, Sketch of the History of the Knights Templars, 1840; Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 692; Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 316; and Masonic Magazine, January 1882.

² The absence of deputies from the chief lodges of the stonemasons in Strassburg, Zurich, and Utrecht—as well as from Bruges, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the central emporium of the whole commercial world—detracts from the skill of the compiler!

³ “Qui ut summus magister electus vel patriarcha veneraretur.”

⁴ In the Deuchar text, 1440.

la Torre : Doria : Jacob Uttinhove : Falk : Nicolaes Van Noot : Philippus Melanthon : Huyssen : Wormer Abel.

From the conclusions of commentators, who have rejected the charter as an historical document, I extract the following:—Bobrik remarks¹—(1.) The motive for the supposed meeting did not exist. (2.) The purpose of the document, and the form in which it is carried out, do not correspond; for in order to refute a thing *publicly*, writing in cipher is resorted to, and to conceal a matter, the signatures are written in common italics. Neither can we conceive any documents legal without a seal. (3.) The signatures are suspicious in the highest degree. (4.) The assembly of the nineteen individuals cited is extremely doubtful; for Hermann would have preferred the town of Bonn to that of Cologne, where he had many enemies. (5.) Melanchthon's participation is especially problematical, as well as that of the other subscribers. (6.) The records of 1637, which are cited, cannot suffice as proofs, as there is nothing to show that there existed a lodge Vredendall at that period.

The same critic believed the term "Patriarch" (C) to be an allusion to the "General" of the Jesuits, a view to which colour is lent if the date of the forgery be placed at 1816, by which time, the Jesuits, after their restoration in 1814, had again succeeded in establishing their influence, which in Holland could only be accomplished by indirect means. Dr Schwetschke, in a pamphlet published in 1843,² remarks, "that after a careful comparison of the signature of Jacobus Praepositus at the end of the document, and the handwriting existing of his, and proved to be genuine, the most glaring discrepancy is apparent; also that the real signature of Archbishop Hermann, and that represented to be his, are most dissimilar. He examines closely the way in which the document is written, and points out that different characters are used for U and V, a distinction unknown before the middle of the sixteenth century; also that in the Cologne cipher the K is wanting, which letter was to be met with in all the alphabets of the Middle Ages.

VI. THE LARMINIUS CHARTER, OR THE CHARTER OF TRANSMISSION.

It is immaterial whether the French "Order of the Temple" is a revival of "La Petite Resurrection des Templiers"—a licentious society established in 1682—or an offshoot of the lodge "Les Chevaliers de la Croix," 1806. The "Charter of Transmission," upon which rest the claims of this body to being the lineal successors of the historic Knights Templars, was not *published* until between 1804 and 1810, and its earlier history, if, indeed, it has one, is so tainted with imposture, as to remove any possibility of unravelling the tangled web of falsehood in which the whole question is enveloped. It is said that an Italian Jesuit, named Bonani, at the instigation of Philip Duke of Orleans, fabricated the document now known as the Charter of Larminius, and with its aid contrived to attach the society of "La Petite Resurrection des Templiers" to the ancient order of the Temple. After many vicissitudes, and a lengthened period of abeyance, a revival of the order took place about 1804, full parti-

¹ Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 697.

² *Ibid.* citing "Paleographic proofs of the spuriousness of the Cologne Freemason Document of 1535," by Dr G. Schwetschke, Halle, 1843. Cf. Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 322.

culars of which are given in the works below cited.¹ The following is a translation of the charter, which is given in Latin by both Burnes and Thory:—

“I, brother Johannes Marcus Larmenius of Jerusalem, by the Grace of God and by the secret decree of the venerable and most holy Martyr, the Master of the Knights of the Supreme Temple (to whom be honour and glory), confirmed by the common council of the brethren, over the whole order of the Temple, decorated by the highest and supreme Master (I publish) these letters to be seen of one and all—*Salutem, Salutem, Salutem*.

“Be it known to all, as well present as to come, that strength failing on account of extreme age, and weighed down by the want of means, and the onerousness of my office, to the greater glory of God, for the guardianship and preservation of the Order, the Brethren, and the Statutes, I, the aforesaid Humble Master of the ‘Militia’ of the Temple, have resolved to resign into more efficient hands the Supreme Mastership.

“Therefore, God helping, and with the unanimous consent of the Supreme Assembly of Knights, I have conferred the Supreme Mastership of the Order of the Temple, my authority and privileges, to the eminent ‘Commandator’ and dearest brother, Franciscus Thomas Theobaldus of Alexandria, and by the present decree, I confer for life, with the power of conferring the supreme and chief Mastership of the Order of the Temple, and the chief authority upon another brother, famous for his nobility of education and mind, and the integrity of his character; This I do to preserve the perpetuity of the Mastership, the unbroken line of successors, and the integrity of the statutes. But I command that the Mastership cannot be transmitted without the consent of the General Assembly of Companions of the Temple, so far as this Supreme Assembly shall will to be collected together, and this being so, that a successor be elected at the nod of the Knights.

“In order that the functions of the chief office may not languish, let there be now and always four chief Master-Vicars, having supreme power, eminence, and authority over the whole Order, saving the right of the chief Master; and let the Master-Vicars be elected from the seniors according to the order of their profession. Which was decreed according to the above mentioned vow of our most holy, venerable, and most blessed Master, the Martyr, entrusted to me and the brethren (to whom honour and glory). Amen.

“I then, by the decree of the Supreme Assembly of the brethren in accordance with the supreme authority committed to me, will, declare, and command the Scotch Templars deserters of the Order, struck with anathema,² both them and the brethren of St John of Jerusalem, the spoilers of the domains of the ‘Militia’ (on whom may God have mercy), to be without the pale of the Temple, now and in time to come.

“I have therefore instituted signs unknown, and not to be known by pseudo-brothers, to be handed down by the Companions by word of mouth, and in whatever way it may now please the Supreme Assembly that they should be transmitted.

¹ Dr J. Burnes, Sketch of the History of the Knights Templars; C. A. Thory, *Acta Latomorum*, 1815, vol. ii., p. 139; Mackey, *Encyclopædia*, s.v. Temple; and Findel, *History of Freemasonry*, p. 681.

² This would seem to have been aimed at the “Rite of Strict Observance,” which was based on the Templar Order, and founded in 1754 by Von Hund. According to the founder of this Rite, Pierre d’Aumont (and *not* Larmenius) succeeded De Molay as Grand Master, and, accompanied by seven companions, escaped to Scotland, in the attire of operative masons. Cf. Clavel, *Histoire Pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie*, 1843. p. 184; and Oliver, *Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry*, 1846, vol. ii., pp. 13, 15.

“ But these signs may only be revealed after due profession and knightly consecration,¹ according to the statutes, rites, and usages of the companions of the Temple, communicated by me to the above mentioned ‘Commandator,’ just as I received them into my hands from the Venerable, and most Sacred Martyr Master (to whom be honour and glory).

“ Be it as I have said. Be it, Amen.”

Then follow the signatures of Larmenius and his immediate successor Alexandrinus, after which come the acceptances and signatures of the twenty-two succeeding grand masters—the last under the date of 1804.

In the notice of the “Order of the Temple” by M. Foraisse,² the secrets learned by Moses when he was initiated in Egypt, are said to have been transmitted through the chiefs of the Hebrews to John the Baptist, St John the Evangelist, St Paul, and the other apostles, and being received from them were preserved without alteration by the *Frères d’Orient*. The Christians persecuted by the infidels conveyed the secret to Hugo de Paganis, and such, we are told, was the origin of the foundation of the Order of the Temple, which, thus instructed in the esoteric doctrine, and the formulas of initiation of the Christians of the East, was clothed with patriarchal power, and placed in the legitimate Order of the successors of St John the Baptist!

This knowledge is said to have descended to Jacques de Molay, who, foreseeing the troubles to which the order was to be subjected, elected as his successor John Marc Larmenius. To this Larmenius is attributed the document upon which so much has been based.

It is much to be regretted that no facsimile of so valuable and *curious* a record as the *Tabula Aurea*, or Charter of Transmission, has been published.³ The printed copies are all given in full, with no contracted words, which would, in all probability, exist in any writing of the period claimed. The text is merely that of a charter arranging for the election of the Grand Master and officers; and although there might have been the names of witnesses, there is nothing in it to require a roll of grand masters being added. In fact, the Latin, the form of document, the decorations, etc., are not at all what would be expected in 1324, and it is difficult to understand why Larmenius, of whom *no* mention is found in any of the *veritable* Templar Records, should have considered it necessary to break through the rules and traditions of his Order, in executing this document, when his supposed immediate predecessor, Jacques de Molay, an *undoubted* Templar, better versed in its customs, deemed no such action needful. It is only a matter of surprise that any one should have been deceived by the “*Tabula Aurea*,” and more, that, when it was fabricated, the Act of Transmission was not at once taken from the fountain head, and registered as having been given by the celebrated Jacques de Molay, the last of the historic grand masters.

A few remarks on the history of the true Knights of the Temple will not be out of place. According to Matthew Paris⁴ and the early chroniclers, the year 1118 is usually assigned as

¹ I am strongly of opinion that the “artist” to whom we are indebted for the Charter of Cologne must have had this and the preceding paragraph present to his mind when penning clause L of that singular document.

² Cited in the *Acta Latomorum*, vol. ii., Paris, 1815, p. 139 *et seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 145. An imperfect copy is given in “*Les Sectes et Sociétés Secrètes*,” par J. H. E. Comte le Couteulx de Canteleu, 1863, p. 259.

⁴ Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, translated by Dr Giles (Bohn), vol. i., p. 469. See also the History of William of Tyre, who died about 1188.

that of the foundation of the Order—the outcome of religious pilgrimages, the only mission of the knights being to defend pilgrims from the cruelty and barbarity of the infidels, and to keep open the roads through the Holy Land over which the pilgrims had to pass. At first they lived entirely on alms; and for nine years Hugues de Paganis and Geoffrey de St Aumer, with their seven companions, of whom the names are now lost,¹ remained the only members of the Order.

In 1128, when the Synod of Troyes was held, under Pope Honorius II., St Bernard, then Abbé of Clervaux, who was present, was charged by the Council to arrange the Rule desired by the Order. This Rule has unfortunately not come down to us in its perfect form.² The Council, moreover, bestowed upon them a white dress,³ to which was added by Eugenius III., in 1146, a red cross, to be placed upon their cloak,⁴ and worn by all members of the Order. At this time, as stated by William of Tyre,⁵ the Templars numbered at Jerusalem more than three hundred knights, not including the serving brethren; and their property was immense,⁶ their riches placing them on an equality with kings. It was this fact, Du Puy considers, that made them, through arrogance and pride, cast off their obedience to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, from whom they had received the first gifts which enabled them to found the Order. Much of the hatred towards them was, he says, caused by their having seized upon the belongings of the churches, and disturbed their ancient possessions.

In a few years after they had received formal recognition as a religious military order, their possessions were enormous, and before 1140 they held fortresses and other buildings in almost every country. Before 1150 they had founded the "Temple" at Paris; and during the reign of Richard I. they bought from that king the island of Cyprus.⁷ Whatever their faults may have been, it is certain that they were looked upon by Kings and Popes alike as one of the bulwarks of the Church, and that the history of the Crusades abounds in instances of their exploits. When driven out of Asia, like the other Christians, they established themselves at Cyprus and in other islands; and in 1306 the Grand Master, with all the chiefs of the Order, came to France, bringing their treasure and archives, and established themselves in Paris.

On October 13, 1307, all the Templars then in Paris and the other provinces of France were "arrested in a moment,"⁸ and charged with the most sacrilegious and horrible crimes which the brains of their accusers were capable of framing. These have often been enumerated, and the

¹ On this point Raynouard and Wilcke are at variance; following the latter (*Geschichte des Tempelherrenordens*), though without quoting his authority, the Comte le Conteux De Canteleu, *op. cit.*, p. 81, gives the names of the seven knights as Roral, Godefroy Bisol, Pagan de Montlidier, Archambault de Saint-Aignan, André de Montbard, Gondemar, and Hugues de Champagne.

² The *Exhortations "ad Milites Christi"* of St Bernard are given by Raynouard, *Monumens Hist. relatifs à la Condamnation des Chev. du Temple*, 1813, pp. 2, 3.

³ Fosbroke, citing Maillot, says that the long beard à l'*orientale* was the distinctive mark of the Order (*British Monachism*, 1843, p. 289).

⁴ Nicolai Gütler, *Historia Templariorum*, 2d edit., Amsterdam, 1703, pp. 139, 163; Pierre Du Puy, *Histoire de la Condamnation des Templiers*, edit. 1713, vol. i., p. 4.

⁵ Liber xii., cap. 7.

⁶ Matthew Paris, in his "Historia Major," states, under the year 1244, that the Templars have "in Christendom nine thousand manors" (Translation by Dr Giles, vol. i., p. 484).

⁷ Du Puy, vol. i., p. 7.

⁸ Some of the commissions for the execution of this order of Philip IV. are given at the end of Du Puy (vol. ii., p. 309, *et seq.* The Questions ordered by the Pope will be found in the same work, vol. i., pp. 139, 148.

examinations printed more or less *in extenso*; it is therefore needless, as it would be out of place, to include them in this summary.

The Order was suppressed in 1312, at a Council held at Vienna, under Pope Clement V. Bulls were launched against the Knights;¹ their lands and goods were seized and made over to the Hospitallers;² and they themselves, in many instances, after having suffered the horrors of an inquisition, were burned. Jacques de Molay, the Grand Master, together with the brother of the Dauphin, still persisting to the last in the innocence of the Order,³ after having been kept in prison, were burned alive in 1313, at Paris.

Much has been written both for and against the charges urged against the Templars; and perhaps the real explanation is best summed up by Voltaire—that the terrible condemnation was the crime of a King avaricious and vindictive, of a Pope cowardly and betrayed, and of Inquisitors jealous and fanatical.

Reference has already been made to the "Rule" formulated by St Bernard, of which only an abstract has come down to us. Fosbroke, in the List of Rules of the Orders which obtained in England, gives a summary of these regulations.⁴ Candidates for the Order must have been born in wedlock, and were required to be of noble birth, free from any vow or tie, and of sound body.⁵

⁶The Grand Master of the Templars ranked as a Prince when in the presence of Kings, but when in councils he took his place before the ambassadors and after the archbishops. The other officers of the Order were the grand prior, the seneschal, the marshall, the treasurer, the *drapier* (literally, *clothier*), the *turepolier* (the commander of light cavalry, which was called in the East, *turepole*), and the *bailli* (judge) of Jerusalem. There were also visitors-general, whose office was only temporary.

The provincial masters, who provisionally held great power, took, at the time of their election, a special oath. Below them were *baillis*, and priors or masters. The master of Jerusalem was always the grand treasurer.

The internal government was managed by a council composed of the Grand Master, the other dignitaries, the provincial masters, the assistants of the grand master, and the chevaliers summoned by him. This council was of course subject to the general chapters, which were very secret, and, on account of the cost, very seldom held. It is evident that this government of the Grand Master, who took the place of God, and held the title of vicar-general of the Pope, was largely despotic.

The Order possessed many peculiar privileges granted by the Popes Alexander III, Urban III, and Innocent III.

Like most of the other Orders, religious or military, the Templars had some secret form of initiation through which a candidate gained admission to the Order. The following is given by Raynouard,⁷ but the very contradictory and imperfect statements made in the replies of the

¹ Du Puy, vol. i., p. 181.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 186, 189.

³ Gürtler, *Historia Templariorum*, 1703, pp. 412, 413.

⁴ British Monachism, 1802, vol. i., p. 72. See Gürtler, *Historia Templariorum*, 1703, p. 80, *et seq.*; reprinted by Du Puy, edit. 1713, vol. i., p. 230, *et seq.*

⁵ *Mémoires Historiques sur les Templiers*, par Ph. G*** [Grouvelle], Paris, 1805, p. 11, based on the work of Professor Münter.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21, *et seq.*

⁷ *Monumens Hist.*, etc., pp. 3-6.

Templars, render it quite impossible to arrive at anything like a correct idea of what really took place at the reception. When a new chevalier was to be received, the chapter assembled. The ceremony usually took place during the night, in a church.

The candidate waited without. The chief, who presided over the chapter, depputed three separate times, two brothers, who demanded of the candidate if he desired to be admitted into the Order of the Soldiers of the Temple. After his reply, he was brought in. He asked three times¹ for bread, water, and the society of the Order.

The chief of the chapter then said to him—"You come to enter into a great engagement; you will be exposed to much trouble and danger. It will be necessary to watch when you would sleep; to sustain fatigue when you would be at rest; to suffer thirst and hunger when you would drink and eat; to pass into one country when you would remain in another."

Then these questions were put:—

Are you a knight?

Are you of sound body?

Are you not married, or *fiancé*?

Do you not belong already to another Order?

Have you not debts which you are not able to pay yourself, or with the help of friends?

When the candidate had replied in a satisfactory manner, he made the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. He dedicated himself to the defence of the Holy Land, and received the mantle of the Order. The knights present gave him the kiss of brotherhood.

The form of oath, Raynouard states, is given by Henriquez,² and was found among the archives of the Abbey of Alcobaza, as follows:—

"I swear to consecrate my discourse, my strength, and my life to the defence of the belief in the unity of God and the mysteries of the faith, etc. I promise to be submissive and obedient to the Grand Master of the Order. . . . Whenever he shall be in need, I will pass over the sea to go and fight; I will give my help against infidel kings and princes; and in presence of three enemies I will not flee, but alone I will oppose them, if they are infidels."

Charges were made about certain objects used in the ceremony of reception. The "Idol," as it is called, which the Templars are said to have worshipped, appears to have been nothing more than a human figure or bearded human head, said to have borne the name of Baffomet, or, as it has been explained, Mahomet. Possibly it was nothing more than a relic or relic case, venerated by the Templars,³ in like manner as such objects were, and are now, reverenced by religious societies, and for this reason exhibited with the regalia at all important meetings of the Order.

Another object of their worship is stated to have been a cat, kept by the Templars for that purpose—but of this little need be said. It was, according to one witness, the devil in the

¹ M. Raynouard, in a note, calls attention to the fact that the number *three* seems to have been a favourite numeral with the Templars.

² *Privelegia Ord. Cistercensis*, p. 479.

³ Raynouard, *Mon. Hist.*, etc., p. 299. A relic case of silver gilt, belonging to the Temple in Paris, was produced, containing a skull, said to be that of one of the eleven thousand virgins. This apparently was the *only* "idol" of which the "Examination of the Templars" discloses any evidence.

form of a cat, who roamed round a head held by the President of the Chapter, talked to the brothers, and promised them riches and all the good things of the earth! This was at Nismes; but an English Templar denied the worship in England, although he had heard it positively stated that both cat and "idol" were worshipped at places beyond the sea.¹

Michelet, in his "History of France," has explained the ceremonies said to have been enacted by the Templars, as being borrowed from the figurative mysteries and rites of the Early Church—*i.e.*, the renunciation by the candidate of his past sinful life, and his being received into a higher state of faith.

In parting with the subject I may observe, that whilst those who have no power to judge of past times but by their own, should always doubt their conclusions, yet the present age has much difficulty in accepting as *facts* any statements that rest on no foundation whatever of authority. "Anonymous testimony to a matter of fact," says Sir George Lewis, "is wholly devoid of weight; unless, indeed, there be circumstances which render it probable that a trustworthy witness has adequate motives for concealment, or extraneous circumstances may support and accredit a statement, which, left to itself, would fall to the ground."² Blind manuscripts, according to Warburton, are always at hand to support still blinder criticisms;³ and the *dictum* is fully borne out in the literature of Freemasonry. The learned author of the "Kunsturkunden" represents the "Leland-Locke" and the Krause MSS. as being two of the oldest and most authentic records of the craft. Dr Oliver, in his "Historical Landmarks" (1846),⁴ affirms, on the authority of the "Charter of Cologne," that, a few years after 1519, *there were nineteen Grand Lodges in Europe!* Lastly, Dr (afterwards Sir James) Burnes observes of the so-called "Tabula Aerea," or Charter of Transmission:—"Startling as is the assertion, there has been a succession of Knights Templars from the twelfth century down even to these days; the chain of transmission is perfect in all its links. Jacques de Molay, the Grand Master at the time of the persecution, anticipating his own martyrdom, appointed as his successor, in power and dignity, Johannes Marcus Larmenius, of Jerusalem, and from that time to the present there has been a regular and uninterrupted line of Grand Masters. The charter by which the supreme authority has been transmitted, is *judicial and conclusive evidence of the Order's continued existence!*"⁵

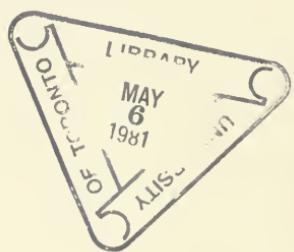
¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. ii., p. 384.

² On the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion, 1849, p. 23.

³ Divine Legation, vol. ii., p. 227.

⁴ Vol. ii., p. 19.

⁵ Sketch of the History of the Knights Templars, 1840, pp. 39, 40.



PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

HS Gould, Robert Freke
403 The history of freemasonry
G67
1882
v.2

